

CHILEAN



Nicolás Palacios

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BOOKS



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Chilean Breed

Foreword

As I am taking the liberty of sending this book to a few people, I owe them an explanation. This foreword is for them.

Beginning as simple letters to the editor addressed to a distinguished national journalist, written with the aim of countering the negative opinion of the Chilean people that had been spreading amongst the public for some time through certain newspapers and magazines, this study has grown into a book, given that this smear campaign has resulted in the Government putting up insurmountable resistance to the implementation of the national colonisation law, and is handing over the nation's lands to families of a race foreign to our own.

Some of the sections into which this book is divided retain their original epistolary form, with the sole addition of a few documents.

Written during the little free time my duties allow me, and in periods separated from one another by long months, the work I present contains some minor flaws in composition and drafting, which have not been possible to rectify due to lack of time.

I submit it, imperfect as it is, for the consideration of the Chilean people, because, though careless in form, this book is the fruit of long study and because some of the matters dealt with in it urgently need to be known by the public.

To draw attention to long-standing problems, I have had to view them from an unusual angle, which, combined with the minor innovations contained in the book, leads me to fear that a more extensive and better-organised argument than the one I have been able to present would have been necessary to convince the reader.

I ask that I not be criticised for the harshness of the language used on some occasions, until after the final sections of the book have been read.

If any of the people to whom I take the liberty of sending this work should feel offended by the moral and other ideas discussed therein, I beg their forgiveness. It is in their hands to cast the book aside.

August 1904.

Chapter I

Ethnogenesis. Origins of the Chilean race. Birth

1. The Chilean race is mixed-race. Its early emergence. The race's baptismal certificate. 2. The father of the race. 3. The physical and psychological uniformity of the race, its cause and its significance. The Chilean race is not Latin. 4. The disastrous consequences of the mixing of dissimilar races. Settlers of Latin race should not be brought to Chile. 5. How mixed-race groups are formed. One of the favourable conditions for the genesis of the Chilean race. The Boroa Indians. The numerous descendants of the conquistadors. 6.- The mother of the Chilean race. The first mothers. Their great number. Their mental similarity to the conquistador. 7.- The speed with which the mixed-race population emerged. The mechanism of its formation. Estimates of the number of first-generation Chileans. Probable number of those of the second and third generations. 8. The first Chilean priests. Names of some first-generation Chileans. 9. Dominant trait of the mestizo's psychology. The speed with which the second generation emerged. 10. Main biological and psychological conditions that favoured the uniformity and stability of our race.

Dear Sir: I have had the pleasure of reading the writings in which you, with deep satisfaction, note the benefits already becoming apparent in the campaign against alcoholism in Chile.

There is a section in them which, having caught my attention, I shall take the liberty of commenting on. It reads as follows:

'The country owes a great debt to the active campaign launched against alcohol abuse for keeping the common man vigorous and healthy. I love the common man; I know he is far better than he is made out to be, I admire his ingenuity amidst his rusticity, and I believe the country will be great if it knows how to preserve in the common man the precious qualities that distinguish him. It all comes down to keeping him away from the vice of drink.'

You immediately quote, to justify your own view, the opinion of another author, so full of praise for the Chilean roto, that I dare not reproduce it here, for fear of appearing exaggerated.

First and foremost, I believe it necessary to express my opinion regarding who the Chilean roto is, as a human entity, what the origins of his blood are, and what the cause of the uniformity of his thought is—the most important condition in sociology for characterising human groups known as ‘races’.

I possess numerous and conclusive documents, both anthropological and historical, which allow me to assert that the Chilean roto is a perfectly defined and characterised racial entity. This fact, of great importance to us, and which has been noted by all observers who have known us, from Darwin to Hancock, seems to be ignored by the leaders of Chile.

The Chilean race, as everyone knows, is a mixed race descended from the Spanish conqueror and the Araucanian, and came into being in great numbers from the earliest years of the conquest, thanks to the widespread practice of polygamy adopted in our country by the European conqueror.

1. The Chilean race is mixed-race. Its early emergence. The baptismal certificate of the race.

I shall reproduce some of the documents in my possession concerning the emergence of the first generations of the roto, or ‘mestizo’ as writers of that era called them. These documents constitute the baptismal certificate of our race.

The oldest document referring to the existence of mestizos, of conquistadors and Araucanians, suggests that they were already numerous. In the minutes of the Santiago Town Council, dated 13 October 1549, just eight years after the city’s foundation, the councillors took certain measures to ensure that residents did not evade compliance with an ordinance regarding a certain war tax enacted shortly before. The minutes state:

‘And some people, out of caution and because the church tithes are diminishing and royal revenues are falling, having ten mares, or nine from which a foal might be tithed, place some mares in the name of their mestizo children, on the pretence of paying five pesos for each foal; and this causes great harm to the royal treasury’.

The ordinance in question required residents to pay one mare for every ten, and five pesos for those possessing nine or fewer. As the mares were worth far more than that sum, whoever

owned ten, for example, would register the necessary number in the name of his mixed-race son to avoid handing over an animal, paying five pesos in tax instead. The Town Council resolved:

“That they ordered and do order that, if such persons liable to pay the tithe do not have married and veiled children, they shall not fail to pay the full tithe due on the said mares in full, in accordance with the ordinance enacted on this matter, notwithstanding any donations they may have made.”

(Minutes of the Town Council, Collection of Chilean Historians, volume 1, page 212)

These mestizo children could be as young as seven years old, and there would have been no small number of them, given that their parents could cause the royal treasury ‘great loss’ by bequeathing them a few mares.

Prior to that date, the conquistador Valdivia refers to the children his soldiers had in Chile. In a letter to King Charles V of Spain, dated in La Serena on 4 September 1545, just four years after the founding of Santiago, he tells him, among other things, that his men are ‘exhausted, starving and freezing, carrying their weapons on their backs, ploughing and sowing with their own hands to sustain themselves and their children’.

In a letter written that same day to Hernando Pizarro, referring to the number of children born to the conquistadors, Valdivia states that this kingdom of Chile is ‘native’ (Collection of Unpublished Documents for the History of Chile, J. T. Medina, volume 8, pages 101 and 91).

The number of these early mestizos must have been large from the earliest years, as can be inferred from the testimonies I shall cite later.

2. The father of the race.

The discoverer and conqueror of the New World came from Spain, but his homeland of origin was the Baltic coast, particularly southern Sweden, present-day Gothia. They were the direct descendants of those fair-haired barbarians, warriors and conquerors, who in their exodus to the south of the European continent destroyed the Western Roman Empire. These were the Goths, the prototype of the race (Teutonic, Germanic or Nordic), who preserved their bloodline almost entirely pure thanks to the pride of their ancestry and the laws which, for several centuries, prohibited their marriages with the conquered races). From the numerous portraits or

descriptions I am familiar with of the conquerors of Chile, I can assure you that at most ten per cent of them show signs of intermarriage with the indigenous race of Spain, the Iberian race; the rest are of pure Teutonic blood, such as Pedro de Valdivia, whose portrait is so well known.

As fighting in Chile ceased only for brief intervals during the early days of the so-called conquest and as, moreover, this region of the continent produced none of the rich trade goods in which the other Spanish colonies abounded, only individuals of the adventurous and warlike caste from the peninsula came to our country. Merchants, industrialists, artisans, scholars, etc.—occupations carried out in Spain by the native-born—had no reason to come to Chile, nor did they come, save for the odd secretary or judge, until the mid-18th century, after the peace treaties were sealed with the Araucanian toqui Ailla-Vilu; but these Iberians were too few in number for their ethnic influence to be felt in a population of 500,000 inhabitants, four-fifths of whom were mestizos. Moreover, they settled only in the somewhat populous cities.

At the beginning of the last century, Iberian soldiers arrived, but it is known that none of them remained here except the dead. It is only in recent years that the Iberian community has become numerous in our country; but, as is well known, their blood ties to our people are insignificant.

The Chilean Roto is, therefore, Araucanian-Gothic. To provide the anthropometric and ethnographic evidence for this assertion is beyond the scope of a letter; but should a controversy arise on this subject, as on any of the assertions I may make later, I am ready to prove it. I shall only require my opponent to have sufficient scientific grounding, for these matters cannot be dealt with through rhetoric or with the mere aid of literature.

3. Physical and psychological uniformity of the race. Its cause and significance. The Chilean race is not Latin.

This mixture of just two ethnic elements in our race imprints upon the Chilean physiognomy certain features common to all, even to those with the most dissimilar faces, which leads observant foreigners to say that in Chile there is a distinct race, unlike any other in the world. The Chilean can appreciate this very fact when he sets foot once more on the shores of his homeland after having seen other peoples.

But whilst the physical appearance of Chileans possesses certain characteristic common features, their moral character displays such uniformity in its main features that this is one of the most interesting phenomena of our race.

The entire spectrum, ranging from the fair-haired, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic man with 80% Gothic blood, to the reddish-skinned man with sparse, black, bristly moustaches and hair as stiff as

straw, and a brachycephalic with 80% Araucanian blood, we all feel and think in exactly the same way on the cardinal issues, upon which all others rest and revolve, whether concerning the family or the homeland, moral or civic duties: our moral and social criteria are one and the same.

This aspect of our psychology, the great importance of which our leaders seem to be unaware of, since they seek to disrupt it, is explained by the remarkable similarity of the souls of our forebears. Indeed, the Goths and the Araucanians, so different in their physical appearance, both possessed, with the same clarity and steadfastness, all the characteristic traits of what experts call a virile or patriarchal psychology, in which the man's judgement takes absolute precedence over that of the woman in all spheres of mental activity. I need not remind you of the immense importance that sociologists attribute to the patriarchal principle in ethnic psychology. The perfect patriarchy of the Germanic race is well known to all, but that of our indigenous ancestors seems to be appreciated only by foreign scholars, such as H. Spencer, who holds it up as a model, or Smith Hancock, who praises it to the highest degree.

The conquistadors noted this resemblance between the Araucanians and themselves from the very outset. Valdivia himself compares them to the Germans in their art of fighting and in the absolute chivalry with which they conducted themselves in battle. The chroniclers of those times often compare them to the ancient Romans or to the Germans who brought down the empire. On numerous occasions, the captains-general of Chile did not disdain to fight personally, man to man, in a closed arena, with the Araucanian chieftains, as did the proud Sotomayor, a Goth related to the ruling house of the Peninsula, something he would never have done with a villain or a commoner.

Uriel Hancock, the wise American writer mentioned earlier, compares them to the Scottish Highlanders and adds:

'For three and a half centuries they have fought for their freedom against the ruling race, producing hero after hero, just as the Scottish mountains and Chile, like Scotland, are stirred by the memory of their historical past. That is why it is a warlike, heroic and progressive country.

There was something in the Araucanian character that commanded the admiration of their enemies; rarely has there been so little prejudice when speaking of an adversary's cause as in the Spanish historians of the Araucanian campaigns."

The immortal Ercilla encapsulated in his poem the admiration that this copper-skinned, barbaric race of the New World inspired in the souls of those illustrious conquerors. They were, then, two races of similar heart and mind, who, in their two-century-long clash, with an epic as their wedding song, gave birth to the Chilean people. Hence the uniformity of their thoughts.

Hence, too, the nature of their moral and mental being.

'I love the roto,' you say, and your opinion is yet another piece of data for my notes on Chilean psychology, for you must know, sir, that we Chileans are loved only by foreigners or by Chileans of the new generation who bear surnames like yours, Germanic, this word encompassing all the dolichocephalic, fair-haired lineages originating in northern Europe.

For the rest, we are set; we Chileans, despite our keen sense of race, also love you, and the mixtures of our blood have always been, from O'Higgins, Mackenna, Miller, O'Brien, etc., right up to Mac-Iver, Walker, Lynch, Boonen, Thomson, König, Williams, Tupper, Clark, Holley, etc., a sure guarantee of reaching the highest positions in our homeland, whatever field they may work in. There has been a Chilean Senate in which 25% of surnames were of German origin, even though the population of that race is relatively small in our country. Conversely, the Latin or Mediterranean community, though already very numerous, has produced but very few outstanding men in its intermarriage with the Chilean population. The fact is that the true Chilean has no Latin blood in his veins, however much he may speak Romance languages and bear Castilian surnames. The good or bad qualities of mixed-race people have, in biological terms, a very telling significance regarding the natural affinities of the parents. The very phenomenon we observe here regarding the quality of the offspring of two races, depending on whether they are related or not, can be observed elsewhere on a very large scale and with conclusive evidence. I am referring to the United States. In that great country, with a Germanic ethnic foundation, the Latin element numbers nearly 6,000,000 individuals, and yet neither in industry, nor in the arts, nor in banking, nor in politics, nor in any respectable sphere does one hear a Latin surname mentioned, even though there is no concern there to hinder the rise of the most capable.

The Latin peoples do not, therefore, sympathise with the Chilean, because we are not of the same nature and consequently they do not understand us. You know that the 'roto' is 'far better than is supposed'; but this is known only to those who, like you, can penetrate our thinking. The Chilean lacks the liveliness and brilliance of imagination, a southern European quality that serves as the yardstick for the Latin criterion in measuring the intellectual stature of men and races.

The wit you find in the Roto is not found by the Spaniard, nor the Italian, nor the southern Frenchman. The Roto's humour lies entirely in the concept, and he is content with—and indeed seeks—the fewest possible words to express it, leaving it to the listener to grasp the joke, unlike the Latin, who seeks wit more in the form than in the substance. That is why, compared to the Andalusian's exaggerations, the Castilian's puns, the Frenchman's calembours or the Italian's concettini, the Chilean finds in them little more than simple, constructive wit.

Speaking of the difficulty in understanding us, I must confess that the main reason for the joy with which I saw the law on compulsory military service enacted was that the young men of our aristocratic class might get to know us closely through the intimate contact of

barracks, so that in their daily contact with their comrades from the people, they might appreciate the firmness and integrity of the instincts of the son of the people, whom they will one day command—veiled only by their lack of culture and the natural reserve of their character, just as their poor attire conceals the fibre of their muscles— for I am convinced that the main cause of the drift that has been evident for some time now in our aristocracy with regard to us is that they do not know us with the precision necessary for the proper guidance of our destinies.

‘It is all a matter of steering him away from the vice of drink,’ you say, and I take the liberty of prefixing an ‘almost’ to your thought. Drunkenness is a vice we share with the peoples of northern Europe. The southerner is sober.

It would be superfluous to dwell on the evils brought about by habitual drunkenness; but it is worth repeating, whenever the occasion arises, what you recall in your writing: that alcohol poisons the seed of life and brings about the degeneration of races, for that is the most disastrous of its many consequences.

This terrible property of the infamous alcohol has been known since ancient times. Tacitus discreetly advised his compatriots to try to subdue the Germans by supplying them with intoxicating liquors, of which they were very fond, since the legions proved incapable of defeating them.

For my part, I believe that, with regard to this serious issue of alcoholism, there is another truth that must be remembered whenever possible, and that is that no law or propaganda has produced good results unless it has succeeded in reducing the number of taverns. This truth, which is in everyone’s consciousness, is forgotten, disputed and even denied by the owners of vineyards and distilleries and their agents; for this reason, one must be on guard against the disingenuous rhetoric of these industrialists.

The drunkard is grateful, and from the depths of his mind clouded by intoxication, he knows who truly loves him: whether it is the one who kindly invites him to have another drink, or the one who, with harsh frankness, reproaches him for his fatal vice. Thus, the selfless philanthropists who today devote their efforts to combating this social scourge amongst us must count on the eternal gratitude of our hearts.

4. The disastrous consequences of the mixing of different races. Settlers of Latin descent must not be brought to Chile.

The prefix ‘almost’ is to remind us that, in addition to alcoholism, there is another way of debasing and even destroying a race, which some wish to introduce into Chile and which must be opposed with the same vigour with which that vice is combated.

I am referring to the propaganda that has for some time been being peddled by a section of the capital's press, through magazine articles and even by certain Chilean public figures, regarding the advisability of promoting on a large scale the immigration of families of the Latin race from the Old Continent.

My long-standing interest in the study of biology enables me to appreciate the full gravity of these projects and to foresee the most disastrous consequences that their implementation would inevitably entail for the future of our race.

It is not possible in a letter to go into the details of the extensive and complex doctrines that justify my previous assertion, so I must confine myself to recalling one of the most firmly established conclusions of modern science.

I have already mentioned the mediocrity of the offspring of two dissimilar races; well then, when such cross-breeding is deliberately pursued for experimental purposes, degeneracy, atavism and infertility soon enough appear, ultimately leading to the disappearance of the mixed-race group. These experiments, which have been carried out in great numbers on animals and plants, have been fully confirmed by observation of what occurs in countries where various human races intermingle. Crossbreeding between two races with different psychologies—I am not speaking of differing levels of culture—also leads to an imbalance in the peripheral nervous connections with the brain's receiving and moderating centres. Reflexes become predominantly spinal, without the centripetal nerve current reaching the brain organs that convert them into ideas, allowing only the reflection that the intellect deems necessary. These mixed-race individuals lack what is called cerebral control, and constitute the social burden of the passionate, the impulsive, the atavistic, those with perverted instincts, and the morally degenerate of every kind, with whom it is not possible to form any kind of society, and whom common parlance rightly calls 'unbalanced'. This justifies the observation of popular wisdom, which considers the zambo to be worse than the fine black man.

Large-scale, mass and forced immigration of Latin American families was already attempted in our country some ten or twelve years ago. More than two and a half million pesos were spent on the attempt and the result was completely nil, as was to be expected. Some of these immigrants stayed in Montevideo, sparing themselves the detour via Magallanes, whilst those who did not have that arrangement had to cross the Andes to join their compatriots on the banks of the River Plate. Here, only a few cheap tavern-keepers remained, who did not wish to follow in the footsteps of their companions.

The Latin-American community that exists among us has been selected by the very difficulties that Europeans face in reaching our remote country, without outside help and relying on their own resources, paying for an expensive passage, bringing some money or some trade with them and, above all, driven by the determined will to carve out a niche for their activities amidst the free competition that both nationals and foreigners encounter in Chile.

The qualities of those immigrants who are forced to come to our country will be quite different, whether their passage is paid for by our government, the governments of their countries of origin, or the societies

in Europe tasked with relieving those countries of their poor and unemployed, or by offering them a position here that they would not have secured through their own efforts. Such people would come here to work as day labourers and compete with the local poor, so it is not unreasonable to assume that they too would cross the Andes, just like their predecessors. Over there, to the east of the mountain range, there is ample land and a shortage of labour, precisely the opposite of what happens here, where, whilst being the smallest country in South America in terms of arable land, with the exception of Uruguay, we have a surplus population that is forced to emigrate by the thousands to neighbouring and even distant nations.

If one were to consider attracting that emigration by creating a privileged position for them here—such as by giving them our lands or giving them preference in public works, or by any other means that would establish a privilege in their favour—an injustice and a wrong would be committed. The protests of the Chilean common people would be unanimous, both from the illiterate and from those of us who have acquired some education.

The Latin American community established amongst us would itself be determined to avoid a situation that could not benefit the peace of mind with which it currently builds its fortune and contributes, to the best of its ability, to the progress of this free American country.

I realise I am speculating on a mere supposition. Our respected president has solemnly promised on several occasions to bring in, if he deems it necessary, only selected immigrants, and as the law governing this matter fully empowers him to implement it in the manner he deems most conducive to the nation's interests, he will surely not wish to commit an injustice against this people who respect and love him so much.

I also consider it appropriate to dispel a very common illusion regarding Latin American immigration. There are people who imagine that among the immigrants of that race might come to us, in person or in embryo, some Cato or some Michelangelo, or indeed a Cervantes or a Gonzalo de Córdoba. Nothing could be more devoid of foundation than that hope. The races that produced those geniuses were very different from those that currently inhabit southern Europe.

I have perhaps gone into more detail than necessary on this point because, as I have said, the issue of immigration is of greater importance to countries—especially those with small populations like ours—than is generally acknowledged, as it is not always considered from the perspective of race.

'I love the roto', said with the plainness and spontaneity with which you publish it in writings reproduced by many of the country's newspapers and read with such pleasure for the soundness of your judgements, for the insight they reveal, for your simple and engaging style, and for your very Chilean spirit, shows a good measure of courage on your part in these times.

The poor people of Chile, that 'roto' whom you are not ashamed to declare you love, are today the Great Orphan, disinherited within their own homeland, which they love so dearly, whose glories have been won at the price of their blood and for which they are at all times ready to give their lives gladly.

The evidence of the roto's orphanhood, its causes, its consequences, and some further comments on your generous article will be the subject of another letter, if this one meets with your approval, for the present one is already too long.

I conclude, therefore, sir, by offering you, on my own behalf and on behalf of my brothers who have not read your affectionate article, either for lack of opportunity or because they cannot read, the most ardent thanks from the bottom of my soul:

‘A Chilean Roto’.

5.- How mixed-race groups are formed. A favourable condition for the genesis of the Chilean race. The Indians of Boroa. The growing descendants of the conquistadors.

Distinguished Sir: In my previous letter, I promised you that I would justify the name ‘Great Orphan’ which I gave to the Chilean Roto, set out the causes of that orphanhood and analyse its consequences—that is to say, discuss a little Chilean psychology.

I can fulfil that promise only in part today, because I have deemed it necessary first to refute the charges levelled against us—perhaps as a justification for the treatment we receive—and to undertake this task in order, I have been compelled to begin by refuting those directed against our forefathers, for the smear campaign has also begun with them.

Before addressing this matter, I wish to dwell briefly on the origins of our race and the mechanism of its formation.

The phenomenon of intermarriage between the conquering and the conquered races is universal and inevitable, since one of the most coveted spoils of the victor is, everywhere and at all times, the woman of the vanquished. In our case, the conditions for the production of the intermediate offspring have been the best possible. The distance between the conquerors' homeland and ours, and the difficulties of travel at that time, forced them to come without their wives, and the indefinite prolongation of the struggle, with the resulting insecurity and meagre comforts of life, prolonged this state of affairs for many years. On the other hand, the few women who arrived on these distant shores in the first three or four generations were mostly members of the conquerors' families and, therefore, of the same race.

The fact that, in the production of mestizos, only one of the parent races provides the male element and the other the female, is of great biological importance for the uniformity and stability of the mestizo caste. To cite but one well-known example of this phenomenon, I shall recall that of the mule, a hybrid of the donkey and the mare, whereas the union of the stallion and the donkey gives rise to

the burdégano or macho mohino, so different from the former that, despite having the same mixture of nature, they appear to be animals of distinct breeds.

In Chile, the mestizo of Indian and Spanish origin was produced, but only in a very limited region of the territory. The capture of Valdivia, Imperial and other possessions of the invaders in 1599 by the Araucanians left them with a considerable number of women among their captives. From the first of the cities mentioned alone, they took more than four hundred 'blonde women'. The blond Indians of Boroa are descended from them, and are quite distinct from the Chilean blond, both physically and intellectually.

The attribution of Dutch origin to the fair-haired and blue-eyed families of the Araucanians in that region stems from the general belief that the conquistadors had black hair and eyes, like the Spaniards of today. The Dutch were very few in number and their stay was brief. The Germanic features of these indigenous people are maintained and reinforced by a genuine process of selection, as they regard them as traits of beauty and nobility, and do not marry those who do not possess them.

In the rest of the country, especially north of the Bío-Bío, intermarriage took place everywhere between conquistadors and Araucan women. The indigenous warriors gradually ceded the territory of the northern provinces to the foreigners and withdrew beyond the Bío-Bío, but they left behind their women, elders and children. These, as soon as their age permitted, rushed to lend their support to their brothers in the south. The Araucanian prisoners were given no opportunity to reproduce, as they were kept locked up and bound in chains.

As for the flow of Gothic blood shed in our country, it must be remembered that whilst the rest of the continent was subjugated in a short time by a few hundred men, Chile continued indefinitely, with the fame of its warfare, to attract Spanish warriors from all quarters, leaving in the other regions the peaceful and industrious Iberians to exploit the natural riches in which the other colonies abounded. From Peru, Bolivia, New Granada, Mexico, and all of the Americas, they came to our country 'to test their mettle' against our indigenous ancestors. From Spain, Flanders, Italy, and even London, like Ercilla, they hurried to this corner of the world, where they knew that the 'tradition'

Thus, over the course of the first five generations, more than 25,000 Goths arrived in Chile. Towards the end of his life, Philip II complained that the poorest of his American colonies was consuming the cream of his Guzmans (Córdoba and Figueroa, *Collection of Historians*, volume 2, page 29). Carvallo and Goyeneche, in various parts of their *Historical and Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Chile*, volumes 8 and 9 of the same Collection, speak of the numerous soldiers who came to Chile until the end of the 17th century.

Here they fought to the death or until they were 'retired', that is, withdrawn from active service, when the infirmities of old age or their hard life rendered them unfit for battle, leaving behind numerous descendants. It is traditionally said that Godo Aguirre 'the Governor', Valdivia's companion, left behind in his domains of Coquimbo fifty recognised sons, not counting the women, those yet to be recognised, and his legitimate family. This was by no means an unusual occurrence in Chile at that time.

Father Ovalle reports that he knew eighty-seven living descendants of the nobleman Cristóbal de Escobar y Villarroel. He adds that in terms of the number of descendants, Escobar surpassed 'many' other nobles in Chile, which suggests that there were others with even greater numbers. This refers only to legitimate offspring.

6.- The mother of the Chilean race. First mothers. Their great number. Their mental parallel with the conquistador.

Araucanian blood was contributed by the countless women left behind by the Indians in the northern provinces and by the large number of female 'captives' taken from the Araucanians during their constant 'guasábaras' or expeditions.

The first mothers of the Chilean race recorded in history were some 'five hundred unmarried women and maidens, all aged between fifteen and twenty', whom the wulmen Michimalonco, lord of the Mapocho Valley, handed over to Valdivia as the price of his ransom and as a token of peace and friendship in 1541 'so that they might work in the trade of mining and extracting gold' (Mariño de Lovera, 'Chronicle of the Kingdom of Chile', Collection, Volume 6, page 55).

The author adds on the same page: 'This custom of women of this age processing gold continued for many years thereafter.' It is easy to understand what must have happened, and that this gave Valdivia reason to assert, four years later, that this kingdom was 'native'.

On several occasions the governors prohibited the employment of women in the mines, but were later forced to revoke their decrees, as there were no men available for any occupation other than warfare.

The vast estates were in fact also cultivated by women; the washing grounds and mines, whose cleared areas and ruined mills are today seen in great numbers scattered throughout the country, were likewise worked by the industrious and long-suffering Araucanian woman.

Hundreds, thousands of women were employed by the encomenderos in these tasks, until enough mestizos were born to form the militias and replace the indigenous women in their work.

The humble Araucanian woman became so indispensable to the conquistadors that not only did they employ her in great numbers in their agricultural and mining work, but they also took her with them on their military expeditions. All the historians and chroniclers of that era speak of this, and if we are to believe what they say, every soldier was accompanied by several of the youngest and strongest of those in their service. The chronicler Tribaldos de Toledo (Collection, volume 4, page 79) states that the soldiers would set out from Santiago on expeditions to the frontier, each taking four or six women 'with whom they... lead a married life'.

Such a large number of women in a marching troop constituted, as one can understand, a serious hindrance, which is why the governors sought to abolish this custom, appealing to the King of Spain to overcome the resistance the conquistadors put up against abandoning it.

In a report that Don Alonso de Sotomayor sent from Mexico to Philip III on the state of affairs in Chile, he wrote on this subject:

‘The soldiers also take Indian women for their service in war, and if I were to find some way to excuse them from having them with them, I would do so very wisely. And in this matter, it is advisable to proceed slowly, for to suddenly abolish an ancient custom deeply rooted in the hearts of the warriors of that kingdom—namely, that of taking Indian women with them—will be very difficult and will give rise to many difficulties; it will be better to address the matter gradually.’

(*ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 72)

Sotomayor was governor of Chile from 1583 to 1592.

The drawbacks that would result from a total ban on the company of women in the army were that there were no men who wished to remain without taking an active part in the war. The field marshal of Governor Lazo de la Vega, Don Santiago Tesillo, referring to this very matter, justifies it with the following reasons:

‘I can assure you that women serve the king in that war almost as much as men, for whilst the men are fighting, the women are providing them with rest, food, fodder for the horses and other necessities that contribute to the greater service of the king and a swifter end to the conquest.’

(‘War of Chile’, Collection, Volume 5, page 101)

Tesillo is referring to the first third of the 17th century, when he was commander of the Chilean army.

Many chroniclers speak of the 'rabble of women and children' who lived in the forts on the Araucanian frontier alongside the soldiers who garrisoned them; this rabble was a serious inconvenience, as they consumed a large part of the meagre provisions of those forts and also made the mobilisation of the troops very difficult. For these reasons, the commanders of the operational army suppressed this custom as much as they could; nevertheless, they exercised a degree of discretionary tolerance. The aforementioned chronicler, Mariño, in the same work, on pages 100 and 101, relates without the slightest surprise that, having been commissioned by Lazo de la Vega to transfer the garrison of the fort of San Felipe de Angol, which had just been repopulated, he successfully led said garrison, comprising fifty soldiers and 'more than two hundred women, mostly Indian women', which amounts to more than four per soldier.

From what was happening in the marching army, one can infer what would have been the case on the estates, in the mines and in the towns. Historians are in agreement in affirming widespread polygamy throughout the country. Álvarez de Toledo states that the loss of the city of Valdivia in 1559 was due to the fact that the soldiers defending that stronghold, despite all being Guzmans or descendants of nobles, 'were more inclined towards Venus than Mars', and that married men had as many as thirty concubines (Purén Indómito, page 351). As we shall see later, it can be stated that in the newly founded town of Chillán, the ratio of women to men was not very different from that of Valdivia, a situation which, moreover, must have prevailed in all the settlements of the country, especially those near the border.

The imbalance between the number of men and women persisted in Chile for a long time. The earlier estimates cover the period from the beginning of the conquest, in the mid-16th century, to the middle of the following century.

A century later, that is, in the mid-18th century, that state of affairs had not changed.

In the report that Fray Joaquín de Villarroel sent to Ferdinand VI on the best way to subdue the Araucanians, he states that one of the reasons for their rebellion and their extinction in a large part of the country was the mistreatment they suffered at the hands of the Spaniards, particularly the ranchers, who took their women from them. As proof, he quotes a letter from the Bishop of Concepción written in 1739 to King Philip V, referring to it he says:

'And there are those who, not content with living entangled with as many Indian women as their unbridled appetite desired, would take two or three wives in the customary manner, keeping them publicly as such in their homes according to the rites and customs of the unfaithful Indians; and in confirmation of this truth, he recounts many specific incidents which, were they not so frequent, would seem incredible.'

The above document merely allows us to surmise that the number of wives among those feudal lords must have been very high; but there is another document which records that number, at least in the cities, where social control must have placed some restraint on such polygamy. From what occurred in those cities, we can infer what was happening in the countryside.

In a report on the state of this colony submitted by President Domingo Ortiz de Rozas to King Ferdinand VI of Spain, he stated, among other things: 'According to estimates made in 1746 in the cities of Concepción and Santiago by certain observers, there are more than ten women for every man'; that is, 9.9% of men (Collection, volume 10, page 219).

As children are born in almost equal numbers of males and females, and pre-pubescent children make up half of any normal population, the disproportion noted by Ortiz de Rozas must have existed among the adults in those cities, which amounts to less than 5% of males in the country's adult population at that time.

This explains another curious fact of our colonial social life: it was enough to know a person's surname to know exactly which province and even which department they had been born in.

Even today, despite the ease of travel and the mixing of families from across the country, it is not a stretch to say where the Andrades and the Mancillas are from, where the Agüeros and the Molinas are from; where the Lamas and the Castellóns come from; where the Donosos, the Vergaras, the Silvas, the Loyolas and the Urzúas come from; where the Correas, the Calvos and the Cuadras come from; where the Aguirres come from, and so on.

Towards the end of the 17th century, Don Ambrosio O'Higgins attempted to establish a settlement comprising solely the descendants of an Englishman who, having abandoned his surname, signed his name as Ibáñez, but he was unable to carry this out as he was appointed viceroy of Peru.

Such a singular event in the world can only be explained by those who know our national history, which in many respects is also unique in the world. For two centuries, it can be said without exaggeration, battles never ceased on our soil. That perpetual war between two of the most warlike races of humanity consumed an incalculable number of adult men on both sides. Their battles were always to the death, and a combatant rarely yielded before having suffered 50% casualties; it very often happened that almost the entire defeated force was left on the battlefield. Chile was known in Spain by the name of 'the Spaniards' graveyard'. Hence that incredible and constant surplus of adult women.

It is not sensible to censure the conquistador as harshly as is customary for his sexual excesses. He was never lecherous, and none of the chroniclers who reproach him for his licence accuse him of anything other than a lack of respect for established monogamy. Apart from the odd isolated case, there was no depravity of morals among them. Having as many offspring as possible was one of their most ardent desires. Monogamy is established in patriarchal societies at the request of women and for their benefit, and is upheld

through social control. The Goth, who had been a polygamist several centuries before his arrival in the Americas, found in Chile women of a patriarchal race practising full-blown polygamy—submissive and faithful women, without the slightest hint of sexual jealousy—and the circumstances we have described placed large numbers of them under his control. Moreover, these women represented spoils of war, that is to say, the most solid title to ownership. What happened is, therefore, entirely logical within human nature.

It should also be remembered that widespread concubinage was the norm throughout the Middle Ages in the countries conquered by the barbarians, and that 'barraganía', as the ancient Spanish authors called it, was sanctioned by law, without the law limiting the number of concubines.

Writers of the Middle Ages, especially the clergy, rail against this custom, denouncing it in the name of religion and morality; yet none of them accuse the barbarians of being lecherous or clumsy—as were the men they conquered—but rather of being intemperate and brutal, as some call them. Their primary aim was not sensual pleasure, but the natural and proper one of perpetuation.

To these events our race owes one of the most precious conditions of its genesis: that it was born in great numbers from the earliest times, when the conqueror's Teutonic nature was at its purest.

Nor should we grieve too much over the condition of the indigenous woman as she passed from the power of the men of her own race to that of her foreign conquerors. The woman of virile races is not aloof from the conqueror in fair combat; moreover, the Araucanians were in the habit of putting young unmarried women to work 'so that they might not go about as harlots', according to a chronicler. Whilst the heavy labour of nascent indigenous agriculture—such as tilling the land, building irrigation channels, cutting and hauling firewood, and other such tasks—was entirely the men's responsibility, sowing, watering, tending the crops and harvesting were tasks proper to Araucanian women. Furthermore, she looked after the home and the family, wove cloth and made clothing. She was never idle, from her morning and daily bath at daybreak until bedtime. The new task of washing sand to extract gold must not have been a heavy burden for them. No chronicler or historian, not even those who most harshly criticised the conduct of the conquistadors—such as the Jesuits, for example—ever reproached them for treating their female workers cruelly. To anyone familiar with the spirit of the Goths, such behaviour is natural; love and compassion for women are part of the Germanic character; not pampering or gifts, but the proper love of a man for his weaker companion, to whom he owes gratitude and protection. The Araucan women found no difference between the way their former native husbands treated them and the way these foreigners did.

It is quite understandable that chroniclers do not speak directly of the treatment the conquistadors gave to their indigenous wives or lovers; yet it is clear from many historical accounts that they felt genuine tenderness for the mothers of their children. Góngora Marmolejo relates that Don Gonzalo Mejía drowned in a river 'whilst trying to rescue a woman in his service who was drowning' (Collection, Volume 2, page 183), and there are many other incidents that indirectly prove that the Goth felt esteem and love for the women of that race, whose men proved themselves so worthy of them.

Our race was thus born, as all human groups known as historical races must have been born: from the union of the masculine element of the conqueror with the feminine element of the conquered, thus fulfilling the biblical saying that the woman shall avenge her race, thereby perpetuating the blood of the conquered lineage. In the birth of the Chilean race, that tribute of virgins referred to by the poets who sing of the origin of peoples was realised. Only the Germanic race and some of the mixed-blood descendants of that race have attained the distinguished honour of the Chilean race, that their origins were sung of in epic poetry, the highest literary manifestation of poetry.

7. The speed with which the mestizo race came into being. The mechanism of its formation. Estimates of the number of first-generation Chileans. Probable numbers of those in the second and third generations.

Mestizos of both sexes were therefore very numerous from the earliest times, and unions took place between mestizo and mestiza, between mestizo and Indian woman, between Goth and mestiza, and between Goth and Indian woman, thus producing the intermediate race with the most varied proportions of both bloodlines imaginable.

When interbreeding was pursued in a single direction—that is, when a Goth mated with a half-blood mestizo woman, who gave birth to a quarter-blood, then with a quarter-blood, who produced a quarter-blood, and so on—the fair-haired Chilean with Germanic features almost as pure as those of a European began to appear from the fourth generation onwards. Conversely, when the crossbreeding followed the Araucanian line, the Chilean with markedly indigenous features appeared. It is a proven fact in biology that a race never recovers its primitive characteristics once they have been altered by its union with another; therefore, neither the Gothic nor the Araucanian can reappear, however extreme the one-sided interbreeding may be. The absorptive power of the Gothic and Araucanian races appears to be the same.

This extensive intermingling of the two races subsequently produced an intermediate type, with characteristics that varied within narrow limits and were transmitted to offspring in the same proportions: a mixed-race type, balanced, without atavistic reversion to either of the component races—in short, a definitively mixed-race group.

Writers from the early colonial period speak of mestizos without being surprised by their existence and as if their numbers were limited. Given the fertility of Araucanian women and their vast numbers, it is easy to imagine the speed with which the new race populated the territory. There is no direct record of the number of mestizos, but from what we know and what can be deduced from certain documents, we can be certain that the first-generation Chileans numbered many thousands.

As early as 1551, it was necessary to issue an ordinance to curb the boys' games in the streets of Santiago: 'No games of any kind, meaning cards and other games they know' ('Cabilo of 31 July 1551', Collection, Volume 1). Just ten years

after the Mapocho chieftain's pledge of peace, the first *rotos* were already taking to the streets in such numbers as to cause a nuisance, displaying that fondness for the jack card inherited from their fathers.

None of these boys could have been more than nine years old: 'And the other games they know'. It would not be surprising if these were marbles, hopscotch and *chueca*, which are traditional among Chilean children.

In 1585 or thereabouts, Governor Don Alonso de Sotomayor 'ordered the sergeant-major to recruit as many men as he could from the Spanish settlements, and the latter brought him two thousand horsemen and a considerable number of infantry' (Gómez de Vidaurre, Collection, vol. 15, p. 158).

Those 2,000 horsemen were Creole Spaniards and mestizos, as the indigenous auxiliaries who accompanied them on their campaigns were not provided with mounts.

According to Don Diego Barros Arana, the population of pure-blooded Europeans in the country at the end of that century—that is, fifteen years after the recruitment ordered by Sotomayor—numbered some 800 souls. Now, the total number of men capable of bearing arms is estimated at 12% of the population; but as it is not possible for all of them to become soldiers—since some adult males must remain in non-essential civilian and agricultural services, etc.—the maximum number of troops that a town can supply at any given time is estimated at 10% of the total. Those 2,000 recruits from the year 1585 therefore suggest a non-indigenous population in the country of 20,000. The population of pure European stock at that time must have been somewhat smaller than that at the end of the century, so it is not unreasonable to assume that the mestizos in 1585 were twice as numerous as those of pure European stock.

However, the white and mestizo population of Chile must have been much larger at that time than the previous calculations suggest. Sotomayor had begun his campaign in Arauco with more than 2,000 men, many of them mestizos (Gómez de Vidaurre, Collection, vol. 15, p. 154). Don Alonso arrived in Chile with only 400 Spaniards.

It should also be borne in mind that part of the 'considerable number of infantry' would likewise have been composed of mixed-race Chileans, since the contingent of auxiliary Indians was not obtained through conscription, but was demanded of allied chieftains, and this in the countryside, not in the 'Spanish settlements', as the aforementioned historian states. Another consideration of great importance that must not be overlooked is the enormous disparity that existed at that time between men and women in Chile, which would greatly increase the figure for the mestizo population, accepting Don Diego's estimate for those of European origin.

Given the date of that conscription, those mestizo warriors must be regarded as having been born before 1570, that is to say, they formed part of the first generation of the Chilean race.

I have found no document containing any estimate of the ratio of mestizos to Europeans during the first two generations; but there are some that refer to the second and third generations, although they merely state that the former were more numerous than the latter, e.g., a passage from the letter that the Bishop of Santiago, Don Francisco de Salcedo, wrote to King Charles II of Spain regarding 'the laxity of morals' among his parishioners:

'The Indian women who remain are in this city or on the scattered estates, most of them settled by charter or of their own free will, so that they do not marry (Indians), because the young women live immorally with mestizos and Spaniards, and persist in their sin with them, having many children; so that today there are more mestizos in this kingdom born in this way than there are Spaniards.'

The same fact is evident from what Coroleu says (*America*, vol. 1, p. 255) regarding the great increase in the number of mestizos in Chile in the second half of the 17th century. In his 'History of the Jesuits in Chile', Collection, vol. 7, p. 187, Father Olivares relates that the apostle of peace with the Araucanians, Father Valdivia, secured from Philip III a strict royal order that war should not be waged against the indigenous peoples, not only by Spanish troops but also by mestizos. Valdivia feared that the advocates of war would circumvent the Spanish monarch's previous orders regarding the peace that his Castilian tercios were bound to respect, by continuing the campaign with only Chilean tercios. As this occurred in 1616, the soldiers who might have continued that war on their own, according to Valdivia—who was very familiar with the country at that time—had been born in the previous century; they were therefore of the second generation of the Chilean race.

8.- The first Chilean priests. Names of some Chileans of the first generation.

From the very beginning of its existence, the Chilean race had priests of their fathers' religion, which is tantamount to the consecration of their existence. Bishop Medellín, the third prelate of the Diocese of Santiago, conferred the higher orders of the priesthood on several mestizos (three or four, according to Don Diego Barros Arana), an event that must have taken place before 1585; therefore, bearing in mind the age required to be ordained as a priest, those first ministers of the God of their forebears must have belonged to the first generation of our race.

Chronicles have left us few names of mestizos from that first generation, but there are some, and among them perhaps some of the children born of the tribute of maidens paid by Lord Mapocho. Thus I know, amongst others, Jerónimo Hernández, a 'great arquebusier', who defected to the Indians and was later (1586) taken prisoner by the conquistadors. Diego Díaz, who also defected to the Indians and who, it seems, was the first to teach them how to ride a horse in 1583. Alonso Díaz, born between 1545 and 1550, who became general chief of the Araucanians under the name Paine-Ñamcu (Blue Eagle), striking terror into the Spanish forces for several years. The mestizo 'Don Esteban de la Cueva', son of Don Cristóbal de la Cueva, a 'young man noted' for his courage and his fighting skills, whom we find a prisoner of the wulmen Tipantue in 1579. Juan Fernández, a 'mestizo silversmith' dissatisfied with a trade for which he had no natural inclination, attempted to

bribe the garrison troops at Angol to take command of them and set out on his own to conquer lands east of the Andes. He was discovered and executed in that very town in or around 1570. He was married with children, so he must have been born before 1550. He is the first mestizo craftsman mentioned in the chronicles. The first mestizo to side with his mother's faction, and of whom there is a record, was one mentioned by the chronicler Góngora Marmolejo, though without giving his name. This mestizo was already fighting in the Araucan ranks during the first governorship of Rodrigo de Quiroga, around 1566. He must have been born before 1545.

Several chronicles and memoirs of that era mention Indigenous artisans, just as domestic servants are also referred to as 'chinas'. I believe that many of these Indigenous people and 'chinas' were mestizos, because it is still common today in rural areas to call domestic servants 'chinas', even if they are blonde and fair-skinned. Mariño de Lovera mentions the mestizo woman Catalina Miranda, wife of Bernabé Mejía, who was murdered whilst pregnant in around 1569, so it may be assumed that she was born before 1550. The same chronicler mentions the mestizo woman María Sánchez, married to Antonio Díaz, who was killed alongside his wife during an attack on the Araucanians at Cañete in 1566, suggesting that this mestizo woman was among the first of our race. This author shows no surprise whatsoever that there were already married mestizo women in those years, so the practice must have been common. Mariño lived in Chile at that time.

9. A dominant feature of the psychology of the mestizo: the rapid emergence of the second generation.

As soon as they were old enough to bear arms, the men of the nascent race enlisted in the army, driven to its honourable ranks by the two natures that fate had united to form their own. The military aptitudes of the Chilean mestizo were unanimously recognised from the moment he appeared on the world stage. One of the chroniclers of that time, who wrote with the deliberate aim of denigrating the Araucanians and their mestizos, González de Nájera, could not help but acknowledge that quality of the primitive mestizo, so evident to all readers of his work. He says:

'The mestizos of Chile, amongst their natural defects, have one good quality, which is that they are, par excellence, good soldiers (in which they surpass all other mestizos of the Indies, just as Indian children surpass others in being warlike).'

This author knew and commanded the second-generation mestizos, born after 1570.

This second generation was born in such abundance as the first and those that followed, for the habits of the conquistadors did not change until much later, whereas the mestizos followed the customs of their fathers. But it is worth always remembering that the speed with which the broad foundation of our race was established is without parallel in the history of any people. One example, among the many recorded in the chronicles: in Chillán, recently founded by Ruiz de Gamboa in 1580, there was a garrison of 210 men, fifty of whom had recently arrived from Spain. The number of women accompanying these men must have been very large, for the chronicler Mariño de Lovera, an army captain at that time, reports that 'there was a week when sixty Indian women in their service gave birth, though not in the service of God' ('Chronicle of the Kingdom of Chile', Collection, Volume 5, page 395). This is the first baptismal certificate of the mixed-race man from Chillán. From this chronicler's account, it is clear that this was not an isolated case but one example among many of the conquistadors' way of life.

Since the influx of the original bloodlines ceased three or four generations ago, it is only the mestizos among themselves who have continued to reproduce, so that the balanced mestizo, the prototype of the race, whom I shall describe later, is becoming increasingly numerous, to the point where, according to my calculations, they now make up 70% of the country's population. Two or three more generations and Chile may boast one of the most uniform races in the entire world. For this to happen, it is necessary that this knowledge be disseminated amongst those who guide the country's future and that they accord it the momentous importance it deserves.

10. Main biological and psychological conditions that have favoured the uniformity and stability of our race.

There are four main fortunate conditions that have made possible this happy outcome for our country—and one so rare in the history of human races—namely, the formation of a permanent mixed-race population. The first is the one we have just analysed: that the number of constituent elements was reduced to a minimum—that is, to just two—until the race was already numerous, which has made it relatively easy to find the proportion in which the vital power of the combined ethnic elements is balanced. The second is that these elements possessed similar psychologies, which has prevented the process termed by the sociologist Lapouge 'social selection' from tending towards the separation of the original natures. The third is that each of the races contributed, throughout the entire period of miscegenation, a single sexual element, which has greatly contributed to the rapid standardisation of the intermediate being. The fourth is that the two primitive races were what are called pure races, that is, they possessed stable and fixed qualities dating back many generations. The only race showing some signs of impurity was the European race, but, as I have noted, only 10 or 11 per cent of its individuals had mixed with a race other than the Germanic one.

I regret that I have no more space to expand on these most interesting points. Especially now that the country is being colonised, those responsible for carrying out this task should be thoroughly familiar with these matters. Unfortunately, they seem to be completely unaware of them.

I must also point out that there were never any black slaves employed in agricultural or mining work in Chile. The few Africans who were brought to the country remained in the cities, working as cart drivers or domestic servants in wealthy households. Only the Jesuits, shortly before their expulsion, had begun to bring in Black people to work in the countryside. When their expulsion from the country was decreed, several hundred slaves of that race were found on their numerous estates, and these were sold abroad at the expense of the royal treasury.

Furthermore, from the outset the conquistadors curbed the reproductive drive of their black slaves with punishments more terrible than the lynching employed by Americans for the same purpose:

At the town council meeting in Santiago on 23 November 1555, 'it was decreed that from this day forward, any black man or men who rose up or rebelled against their master's service, or failed to return within eight days of the day they fled, or if he should force any Indian woman, whether she be a chieftain's or a principal's, or in any other manner against her will, that any judge of His Majesty before whom the matter is brought, having received sufficient evidence, may, in such a case, sentence him (the records refer to the full sentence) to such other punishments as the judge of the case deems fit for the execution of justice'.

That is why the very few Chilean families in which traces of African blood can still be detected belong to the cities; the countryside is entirely free of it.

It is worth recalling here that black blood has a much greater power of absorption than white blood. Thus, whilst no trace of the white remains by the fourth generation on the black side, that is, when there is still 6.255% of white blood in the mestizo, the nature of the black can be detected up to the sixth generation, when it is represented in the mestizo by only 1.05% of the total; and the cerebral qualities characteristic of the black: the lack of mental control, the predominance of imagination and the low level of ideals, persist for much longer.

From the way you speak of the 'roto', it seems you subscribe to the idea, very common to this day, of believing that the Chilean 'roto' is something of a separate race, inferior in Chile, as if our country contained two distinct races, 'rotos' and 'non-rotos'. Fortunately, there is nothing of the sort.

From the most unfortunate Chilean to the most exalted, we all possess, in varying proportions, the same European and American blood that we have seen. The estimate of four-fifths being of mixed race, which I mentioned in my previous letter, referring to the 18th century when

when some Latin families arrived in the country, must be regarded as the most conservative estimate. Since then, and especially since independence, there is no family that has not incorporated into its veins some genuinely Chilean blood.

What is commonly called the 'roto', that is, the poor class of Chile, is what experts call the ethnic base of a nation, and which is possessed only by those fortunate enough to have a distinct race of their own.

It is from this base—the most numerous, healthy and prolific in the country—that the middle and upper classes of society rise through selection, though there is no fixed line of separation between one class and another, for such a division is devised solely to facilitate description.

This foundation of the races has, at all times and in all countries, deserved special attention from true statesmen, for they rightly regard it as the foundation of the entire social edifice, and they devote to it the same care and attention that an architect gives to the foundations of his buildings.

Among us, it is generally the tenant who becomes the small landowner and then the farmer; from the day labourer springs the craftsman who goes on to set up a workshop and become an industrialist, or the small peddler, the street vendor, the merchant, the shopkeeper; and it is the farmers, the industrialists, the merchants who manage to educate their children, the heirs to their skills, who obtain professional qualifications, become judges, MPs, ministers, presidents.

What obscures these investigations is the time in which the events take place. Often, one or two generations are not enough for the full evolution to take place; in other cases, the evolution that has begun comes to a halt and even regresses; but for the enthusiast of the experimental verification of these problems, that is not an inconvenience. In Chile, where, due to our short history as a people and small population, the lineages that have produced outstanding individuals are still few in number, and where historical documentation is extremely abundant, such work is relatively easy. Here, as they say, we all know one another.

But it is true that there are people who believe themselves to be of a privileged race, superior to the Chilean people. Both beliefs are mistaken. There are others who, in order to believe in that gradual selection I have outlined—which links the lower class to the upper class through blood—would need to see a Chilean with a spade in one hand and a minister's briefcase in the other. It is to these people that I am primarily addressing myself, so please forgive me if I often make observations that will be well known to you.

And despite our history being so brief, we have witnessed the wonderful social phenomenon of an individual rising from the dispossessed class to the highest offices, thanks to his enlightened talent and patriotism.

From the earliest times, the mestizos were regarded with affection and consideration, even though some 'switched sides to the Indians', as we have seen. Mestizos were the first wealthy men in Chile: these were the 'lenguas' or 'faraute', as the

conquerors called the interpreters between themselves and the Araucanians, who knew how to make the most of their situation, according to a chronicler who knew them personally, who says 'it is clear that they are rich in slaves, livestock, estates and farmsteads, and above all in gold ingots and bars, whilst almost all the Spaniards in that kingdom have ended up losing their mining lands'. He adds that these 'lenguas' keep the finest female 'pieces' for themselves, and that the office proves more important and lucrative than that of governor.

A distinction was made between legitimate and illegitimate mestizos only in the early years, before the first generation produced mestizo women to marry. When these became plentiful and marriages became frequent, the children of the second or third generation were regarded as Europeans, as 'Creoles'; and they used their fathers' titles and forms of address without anyone finding it strange.

In 1591, the Captain-General of Chile, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, published Philip II's Royal Decree in which, in response to the general clamour of his distant and loyal subjects, he permitted the legitimisation of natural mestizo children.

Moreover, alongside the illegitimate children, there were numerous children from marital unions from the earliest years, encouraged by the priests and the governors themselves. Governor Don José de Garro took particular care to ensure that his men entered into legitimate relationships:

'He married off many daughters of chieftains and other prominent Indians to Spaniards, and to encourage others and persuade them to enter into similar unions, he placed them in political and military posts, in accordance with the greater or lesser nobility of their wives'.

(Carvallo y Goyeneche, Collection, Volume 9, page 181)

It is well known that Captain Gómez, a companion of Valdivia, married a daughter of the wulmen of Talagante, from whose noble lineage numerous descendants remain in Chile to this day.

The Chilean race was thus born without hindrance, without prejudice, and developed over time without ever denying its origins, right up to the present day. For it is only since yesterday that a certain estrangement between the ruling class and the people has become apparent.

What is the cause of such a strange phenomenon? What influence, if any, did those Iberians who arrived in the mid-18th century exert on our upper class? Have the alliances of our families

with people of a different racial and psychological makeup to our own, formed over the last few generations? Or is it merely a consequence of the moral failure of our ruling class brought about by the riches of Tarapacá, as Mac-Iver believes? Or are these causes combined? I possess some very interesting documents on the subject.

Chapter II

The historical truth

1. Detractors of the Araucanians. Their bad faith. 2. Military prowess of the Araucanians. They were not only heroic, but also skilled warriors. 3. The Araucanian Huentrún. 4. Epic. 5. Supporting documents. 6. A stanza by Don Alonso de Ercilla. 7. The slanders against the Araucanians directly affect the Chileans. 8. The Goths. Some of the traits of their body and soul. Their spirit is the opposite of the Latin one. 9.- The defining trait of the Gothic conqueror of America. Is the Gothic race extinct? 10.- Roto, a Chilean national nickname. It was applied only to the conquerors from the earliest times. Only today is it applied to the poor, and this only by some Chileans.

1. Detractors of the Araucanians. Their bad faith.

As I have said, the disrepute in which we are held today stems largely from the low regard in which our indigenous race has come to be held by a section of public opinion, due to a long and senseless smear campaign waged against them by certain newspapers, magazines and even official publications. As it is claimed that only the illiterate Chilean has indigenous blood in his veins, it is believed that only he is subject to this discredit.

As for the European blood we possess, it is true that not everyone knows its true provenance, but as I establish its legitimate origin in these letters, I have likewise deemed it necessary to refute the charges that have long been levelled against it.

I have considered it all the more necessary to devote a paragraph to restoring the truth regarding that noble German family, given that in Chile its name reminds us of the resistance our nation encountered in achieving its independence. Here we continued to call the soldiers sent by Spain at the beginning of the last century 'Goths', out of traditional custom, when in reality the troops, recruited by conscription, belonged to the indigenous race of the peninsula. Hardly any of the commanders or officers displayed Germanic features worthy of note. We also called the Spaniards who arrived in 1864 'Godos' as an insult, even though they were all Iberians or Latins.

The crusade against the Araucanians, which is leading some to consider the advisability of removing from our national anthem the verses in which we boast of carrying their blood, has found its most ardent champion in the Annals of the University of Chile.

For some four years now, a History of the Civilisation of Araucania has been published in those Annals, in which our indigenous ancestors are treated as savage, cruel, depraved Indians, devoid of any morality, lacking in martial prowess, and with certain combat manoeuvres interpreted as cowardice on their part.

Only one of the countless chroniclers and historians who have written about the legendary wars of Arauco, González de Nájera, had the audacity to call the Araucanians cowards; yet he admits that he undertook to write his book (page 248 of his work), as the aim at that time was to discredit our indigenous people, with the intention of persuading the Spanish monarch to allow Araucanian prisoners to be taken and exchanged for black slaves in the markets of Lima or Buenos Aires; hence he states on one of his pages: 'even as slaves, they possess the most servile and dejected spirits in the world'. This is how he interprets the action of a young Araucanian nobleman who, with his left hand, chopped off his right hand with an axe and sent it to his captor so that he might put it to work in his mines. Moreover, this chronicler, in his accounts of the vicissitudes of those wars, contradicts himself at every turn with inconceivable naivety.

It fell to the official journal of our University to continue, after three centuries, the campaign undertaken by that shameless chronicler. But the Annals have gone further. Not only have they attributed to our indigenous peoples customs contrary to their own, describing as such those of the Pehuenches and Huilliches driven by the Argentinians into our territory, but they have even gone so far as to display maliciously truncated quotations from highly respected authors, such as Núñez de Pineda, with the manifest purpose of attacking the purest of Araucanian domestic virtues: the chastity and modesty of their wives.

Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán was Chilean, born in Chillán in 1607, a descendant of a Gothic lineage from the Peninsula. He was a soldier from childhood and was taken prisoner by the Indians at the Battle of Las Cangrejas in 1629. After his rescue, he continued in the Chilean army, rising to the rank of captain. His work, **Cautiverio Feliz**, is therefore one of the most authoritative documents we possess on the Araucanian customs of that time. His simple style reflects the noble chronicler's utmost sincerity. In various parts of his work, he praises the chastity of the Araucanian woman, whom he knew intimately. Here is an excerpt:

'Whilst among us there were instances of adultery, incest, theft and robbery, these vices were unknown among them; nor had they ever witnessed their consequences, for when anyone left their home, they needed no better lock to keep it secure, nor any stronger wall, than a few green branches; placed against the door of the hut, these were sufficient to safeguard what lay within its thatched walls: no one would look upon another's wife, nor dare to commit any particular offence, nor to disturb maidens who were sheltered under their fathers' care.'

(Collection, Volume 3, page 231)

And further on, on page 357, he adds:

‘It must also be noted and observed, for the instruction and edification of women (the author addresses Spanish women), that their modesty and composure do not give even the most heartless and daring cause to lose respect for their honour.’

In recounting an indigenous drinking spree, this chronicler says it lasted several days and nights, during which the Indians spent their time singing, dancing and drinking until they collapsed. Only those of the lowest class attended this festival, a point he repeats on several occasions, as it was an ‘immoral’ ceremony, called *hueyelpurun*, or the dance of the *hueyes* or *machis*, a ceremony of undoubtedly Huilliche origin, as I shall prove on another occasion. It is clear, says Núñez, referring to that scene, ‘that wherever one looks, the common people and the masses are distinguished from the elite and the nobility’. Such a festival ends in general and complete drunkenness, amidst which the rules of propriety governing indigenous domestic customs could be forgotten, which is why the author says:

‘And, perhaps at such festivals and gatherings, the women of one group mingle with those of another, being so deprived of their senses that they neither understand nor know what they are doing’.

(Page 134)

Well then, the *Annals*, after citing the opinions of ecclesiastical historians, who always regarded polygamy sanctioned by social institutions as vice and lust, and

the religious customs of the Araucanians, and that of the deceitful González de Nájera, are included in a separate section.

The chronicler Núñez de Pineda says of this: 'It happens at such festivals and gatherings that the women of one group mingle with those of another.' (Annals of the University, Volume 1, 1899, page 775). The Annals do not state the page from which they have taken this quotation.

By omitting the 'perhaps' from the author in question and the final part explaining the possibility of an unusual occurrence, the Annals turn Núñez de Pineda's mere occasional supposition into an absolute assertion. Anyone who has read the work of that illustrious Chilean chronicler will understand how much malice is contained in this fraud by the university journal, which makes the noble Núñez say the opposite of what he affirms on every page regarding the propriety of Araucanian customs, which he holds up as an example to his compatriots. For it is with such 'honesty' that the entire so-called History of the Civilisation of Araucania is written, and the aims pursued in these official writings, consistent with others I shall cite later, will be demonstrated further on.

Today, studies in ethnography and ethnographic psychology are assuming immense importance in the scholarly world because their findings, once well established, are a reliable source of far-reaching insights and new perspectives for the interpretation of all the social phenomena of any given people; and biological anthropology, based on those sciences, has brought about a complete revolution in the way we explain the development of nations and the vicissitudes of their fortunes throughout the ages.

This article, published in our country's sole official journal of general sciences—edited by our university faculties and which exchanges issues with similar journals in the major countries—must surely have been read carefully by the large number of people currently engaged in these studies. Through it, they will have seen with surprise that the famous Araucanians of history and epic, who until now were considered by the most eminent thinkers and sociologists to be one of the most admirable human families, are in reality—or rather were—nothing but common savages, without any merit, lacking even military organisation: 'the savage hordes attacked', 'the savage hordes fled', etc., are the expressions used in that official document to describe the movements of the indigenous troops.

2. The military prowess of the Araucanians. They were not only heroic but also skilled warriors.

Some chroniclers, criticising the self-serving bias with which others recounted the events of the Araucanian War, had already stated that the truth of the matter would only be known when the Indians wrote their own annals. Although I am only half Araucanian, I shall take up the gauntlet on a future occasion, when I shall study not only the wars but also Araucanian psychology, their political and social organisation, and especially their religion and family structure. For today, I shall merely summarise their remarkable military skills

and cite a few examples proving that the Chilean 'savages' did not fight in 'hordes'.

Recall, then, those squadrons with their perfectly straight and united ranks which Valdivia, having just encountered them in Flanders, compared to the Germans; the movements of their battalions, their manoeuvres, their lightning-fast dispersals and concentrations, ordered both during combat and in their tactical drills to the sound of whistles made from cowbells; the admirable readiness of their troops to engage in battle; the skill and composure with which the action was planned and executed, taking advantage of the slightest lapses by their enemies, the features of the terrain, the position of the sun, the direction of the wind, and every resource that presented itself in their favour, and this with such swiftness of conception and certainty of execution that it left the battle-hardened and experienced European captains astounded; the deployment of their reserves; the security services for their armies, whether encamped or on the march, with a large guard and outposts that at times covered a radius of three leagues or more; their auxiliary services, such as the fire slingers, those charged with removing the dead and wounded from the battlefield, and those tasked with filling the moats of enemy strongholds; their squadrons of several ranks of lancers, with which they stood their ground against the attacks of the conquerors' steel-clad cavalry; their feigned retreats, which they usually turned into victories; their ability to appropriate whatever they deemed useful from their enemies' military knowledge; the intelligence with which they changed tactics and adopted new weapons in response to the new demands of the art of war, brought about by the foreign enemy; and, finally, the inexhaustible supply of ruses and stratagems with which they outwitted the invaders on a daily basis.

The immortal Ercilla, our first historian, wrote for his contemporaries; he is therefore entirely trustworthy in all he asserts regarding the martial skills of the Araucanians, whom he encountered in a hundred battles, and his great historical and descriptive accuracy is acknowledged by all critics of his epic poem. These octaves are from his Canto 23:

'Cease to extol in your writings

of those who mastered the art of war,

nor celebrate any longer the inventors

that forged hard steel and metal;

for the last inhabitants of the

of the Araucanian realm thus established

the order of war and discipline,

that we may learn from them.

Who taught them to form their squadrons,

to array themselves in battle formation,

erect ramparts and bastions,

build defences, moats and walls,

trenches, new fortifications, inventions,

and everything found in military use,

for all this is a sufficient and clear indication

of these people's courage and training?"

"There is no maxim practised by the most expert generals that we do not see carried out by these Chilean barbarians."

(Córdoba y Figueroa, Collection, Volume 2, page 175)

"They defended themselves savagely, closed in a square like the Germans."

("Letter from Valdivia to Charles V in 1550",
Collection, Volume 1, page 23):
Valdivia attacked them with cavalry

I consider it pointless to continue quoting authors to prove what only the Annals deny. González de Nájera himself, who calls the Araucanians cowards, admits that they fight out of habit and are reckless, concluding by contradicting himself, for he says of the courage with which they attacked the Spanish strongholds:

‘This can be considered great, if one considers and observes the nature of these people of Chile, for although they are barbaric Indians, barefoot and almost naked, their bellies exposed, they possess such great boldness as to attack with such spirit and resolve a fortified force superior to them in such superior weapons as firearms.

For I have no doubt that we might have to abandon our claim to the conquest of that kingdom, were those Indians our equals in arms.”

(Volume 16, pages 187 and 201)

It is true that we Chileans are not taught in school or anywhere else the history of our homeland during the period that shaped our race, even though it is the most marvellous of all the histories in the world, without exception as regards heroic deeds. If we were taught this from school onwards, as we ought to be, the teachers of our youth would not have to resort to examples of civic virtue drawn from Greek or Roman history, or from that of any other people, for on our own soil, and carried out by our direct ancestors, there are thousands of such examples, and among the most beautiful.

Several historians, especially military ones, said, like Ercilla, that the Spaniards could learn ‘lessons’ from the indigenous army, from the tactics of its generals and from the strategy deployed in its military actions. One of the services attached to the Araucanian army, which the conquistadors never managed to establish, despite realising the disadvantage this placed them in compared to the indigenous peoples, was the telegraph. The semaphore or telegraph by means of signals was used by the Araucanians perhaps even before the Spanish conquest; but during the conquest they gave such impetus and organisation to this service that it would be incredible were it not for the full record of it in accounts written during the events, and by knowledgeable people who witnessed those events. The Araucanian semaphore consisted of signals made with tree branches concealed within the hillside woodland, and visible only to those who knew their location. At night, torches were used. The meaning of the signals was always kept in the strictest confidence.

Around the years 1771 and 1771, the banks of the Bío-Bío—that ‘Rhine of Chile’, as Hancock puts it—were guarded by Commander O’Higgins and the toqui Ailla-Pagui (Nine Lions); the former

guarded the right bank and the latter the left. Both sides did as much harm to each other as possible, sending raiding parties into enemy territory; but the advantage the Araucanians held over the conquistadors was immense, thanks to the former's telegraph system, which the Spaniards could only curse. The historian Carvallo y Goyeneche was a lieutenant in the Spanish forces and was in charge of one of the forts on the north bank of the Bío-Bío. In this position, he suffered directly the consequences of the Araucanian semaphore, taking his revenge by insulting the skilful toqui Aylla-Pagui, and he was the most thieving Indian known in those days. He frequently sent out two or three parties to different areas, and stationed his sentries on the highest hills overlooking the Bío-Bío, to observe the movements of the Spaniards and warn his followers of them by means of the signals he gave them; and this operation proved so successful that he never missed a beat (Collection, volume 9, page 372). From the reports of the Araucanian troops' raids provided by Carvallo himself, it can be seen that Aylla-Pagui had his telegraphic network extending over more than thirty leagues of the riverbank entrusted to his care. He usually resided in Angol, the centre of his operations.

As for the phalanxes or squadrons of several rows armed with spears, with which the Araucanians defended themselves against cavalry on the open plain, and the speed with which they formed these squares, there are many examples. Here is one of them, recounted by Mariño de Lovera. Whilst a division of elite cavalry was stationed on a plain called Tomé, they saw a large group of Indians coming at them at a gallop and in disarray. The Spaniards did not believe they would dare to attack them, 'but seeing that they were in earnest', they prepared for battle by riding out to meet them:

'As they began to advance towards the Indians, the latter halted at the spot where the Spaniards first caught sight of them. And when Don Miguel (de Velasco, who was one of the commanders of that cavalry) saw that they were closing in on the squadron, he did not wish to charge until he had first carefully considered what would be the most expedient course of action: which seemed to Gaspar de la Barrera to be a great delay, and being unable to bear it, he charged with his squadron; however, as the enemy's squadron was very tightly packed and there were many pikemen, he could neither break through nor rout them, and so he had to turn back, leaving behind one of his men named Luis de Villegas, who had been a very spirited and brave soldier. Seeing this, Don Miguel de Velasco wished to try his hand, to see if he might fare better; to this end, he went out with the rest of the army and charged with great fury, finding no better way in than the first group, for the Indians were determined not to budge from their positions, with their pikes lowered, not a single man showing the slightest sign of disarray. For this reason the Spaniards withdrew and began to bring up the artillery and fire the muskets, yet this did nothing to rout the Indians; rather, they advanced in perfect order, reaching the camps without being deterred by the sight of those falling wounded by the bullets. Such was the determination with which they charged that the Spaniards began to falter and many of them fled, some towards the Imperial forces, and others towards the Infantes.

(Collection, volume 6, page 328)

This took place in 1570 or thereabouts. To appreciate the merit of that action, recounted with such simplicity by that chronicler, a Chilean army officer of the time, one must know something of military matters, but it is clear to anyone that there were no savages in hordes there, far from it.

3.- The Araucan huentrun.

When the Araucanians had cavalry, they used to fight in scattered groups, in hordes, as the Annals say; but this was only when a small party of Araucanians attacked an army, which happened several times. In such circumstances, each indigenous soldier fought on his own against several enemies, without any order being possible, yet maintaining organisation. Carvallo y Goyeneche recounts one such encounter, which took place in his time. Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, father of the national hero Don Bernardo, and Commander Freire were leading an expedition in the heart of Arauco, at the head of two thousand selected cavalymen and with a large number of spare horses. On 23 February 1770, the expedition reached the confluence of the Tolpán and Vergara rivers:

'Shortly after setting up camp,' says Carvallo, 'a party of a hundred Indians from the Angol tribe emerged from a nearby forest; with savage vigour, they set about seizing their spare horses. And they would undoubtedly have succeeded had they not hastened their attack, thereby allowing time for Don Ambrosio's column, which formed the rearguard, to dismount completely. Some companies were still mounted and promptly rode out to hold them off. They took up defensive positions, and with such valour and bravery that they held their ground against two thousand men, and continued the skirmish until night fell, when those who had survived withdrew whilst still fighting.'

(Collection, volume 9, page 353)

In a 'guerrilla' force, says Carvallo, not a horde. The guerrillas are organised, obey their leaders, help one another, etc. That is why they were able to retreat in an organised manner and still fighting.

Abbot Gómez de Vidaurre recounts (volume 15, page 225) another of these unequal battles:

“A party of fifty Spaniards was hunting Araucanians, without realising they were so close, when two Araucanians, defying their own fear, emerged armed with spears and clubs to confront the Spaniards, provoking them to battle. They, indeed, fought valiantly, attacking and defending themselves against so many enemies for a long time, and did not surrender until they were shot dead.”

Note the interpretation given by the good abbot of the courage of those Araucanians: ‘Irritated by their own fear’. It is common among chroniclers and historians of Chile to ignore or misinterpret the actions of our American ancestors. The same author relates that Don Alonso de Córdoba, who was marching with 550 men, was confronted and provoked by ‘eight Araucanians who, with reckless determination, took up a defensive stance rather than surrender’ (volume 15, page 212).

There are countless such cases. Not a year went by without them appearing. The chroniclers called these heroes of their homeland ‘brave men’. The Araucanians called them huentrún, manly, valiant; González de Nájera says of them:

“There are also among the Indians some insolent daredevils, who are the cockerels among them, and those who blaspheme the Spanish name the most.”

Usually, the bullies belonged to the wulmenato of Purén, inhabited by the noblest tribe of Arauco.

Carvalho y Goyeneche recounts another feat of these ‘roosters of Purén’, which has its origins in a battle that may be remembered as an example of those fought on our soil between the Goths and the Araucanians. A certain Lieutenant Muela, a nobleman, with 600 men, launched a surprise attack on the people of Purén in the depths of winter, taking several prisoners:

“The alarm was sounded in Purén and Huenualquín (huenu, tall; calquín, eagle—eagle of the heights. My own parenthesis, not Carvalho’s) set out in pursuit of Muela, who was already retreating in good order, and cut off his retreat, lying in wait for him on a plain to make good use of the horses. Lieutenant Muela arrived there and the fiercest battle ensued. Once it had begun, it started to rain and firearms were useless, so only the sword was used. The ground was slippery and the horses were falling, and the rain fell so heavily that they separated for a brief time. But then they returned to the fighting and the retreats, and in five engagements they spent the whole day, until night separated them.”

Shortly afterwards, this same lieutenant undertook another expedition in the vicinity of Purén with 500 men and was attacked by two Araucanians; Carvallo recounts this skirmish, with his customary commentary, as follows:

“These men (the Araucanians) were so tenacious in war, for it alone seemed to them capable of freeing them from the dreaded bondage, that even when scattered they put up a stubborn resistance. This is well illustrated by the following incident: two Indians were safely hidden in a forest, and yet, as Muela’s squadron passed nearby, they came out armed and provoked the Spaniards with insulting words. Muela tried to take them alive, but it was not possible. They charged as if they were wild beasts, unaware of the danger, and struck with such courage and desperation that, to avoid their blows, Muela decided to take their lives.

I would have left them to their frenzy, for there can be no greater frenzy than such behaviour. It is clear that the people of that nation wish to show that they throw themselves into battle only to die.

‘Their sole aim is to demonstrate their hatred for the conquering nation and to make it clear that they do not want peace under any circumstances.’

(Collection, volume 9, pages 40 and 41)

4.- Epic.

But the most admirable of these deeds, unique in the world, not even imagined by the fantasy of poets, absolutely incredible were it not for the indisputable evidence of it, is the abduction of a living man from an infantry battalion formed in the middle of a plain, rifle in hand and bullet in mouth, and carried out by a daredevil on bareback at midday. This feat reveals not only the complete lack of limits to Araucanian audacity, but also, through the details of its execution, the most perfect knowledge of the enemy’s character, and the crystal-clear understanding of the logical sequence of all the incidents of that

extraordinary. The hero's imperturbable composure and the mathematical precision and certainty of all the movements necessary for its execution, which such an act presupposes, may seem exceptional, unusual, implausible in any country, but not in Arauco.

This is how it happened: In a wide meadow bordered by the virgin forest of the 'Frontera', an infantry battalion was resting from its drill exercises, with their weapons laid out in rows, and both men and officers, lying on the grass, smoking or chatting as they regained their strength to continue the exercises. The forest was six or seven blocks away, so they could rest easy. Suddenly, someone spotted an Indian appearing at the edge of the jungle, and everyone stood to attention and kept watch. Then another Indian appeared, and then another, and others in succession; no one was in any doubt that this was a squadron of indigenous cavalry hidden in the shadows of the forest and preparing to attack.

'Form up!' sounded the commander's bugler. And in an instant the battalion was in line, rifles at the ready, the small band of bugles and drums at the head. Ahead lay the forest, from which a few mounted natives continued to appear and vanish. All eyes were fixed on them; all thoughts penetrated deep into the thicket, trying to guess the number of enemies. In truth, the danger could not be great: the era of arquebuses and flintlock rifles, which took fourteen steps to load, was long past; by now the soldier possessed the Minié rifle, with a percussion cap and rapid loading, a much wider lethal range and an accurate shot of over three blocks, which had made the Indians very cautious about attacking in open country; but long experience had taught the Chilean army that, when facing the Araucanians, one must always be ready, which is why they never strayed far from their strongholds without their cartridge pouches well stocked.

'Here comes one!' exclaimed the aide, pointing ahead with his hand. That's right, just one.

Everyone could see him. At a steady gallop, an Indian emerged from the forest, heading straight for the battalion. His silhouette grew larger by the moment. What could he be coming for? He carries neither a flag of truce nor a cinnamon branch. He comes unarmed: no spear, no club. What could he be coming for?

"Attention: Stand to attention!" sounded the bugler. And the commander stepped to the front of his battalion, positioning himself in the centre facing the direction the Indian was heading. And everyone waited calmly.

The Indian approached at the same gentle gallop. Fifty paces away, he stopped. Motionless, he scanned the ranks from one end to the other. Like the warriors, his hair was cut short to cover his ears and held back at the forehead by a headband adorned with red loica feathers; like the warriors, he was bare-chested, displaying his brick-coloured skin and athletic build, barefoot, wearing black knee-length trousers, and a striped poncho tied at the waist. But he was not actually carrying any weapon, nor a staff, nor stirrups: he stood defenceless before six hundred muzzles. What could he be here for?

'At ease!' sounded the bugle.

The horse was huge, and jet-black. It paused for just a moment; then it turned on a quarter-circle and set off at the same steady gallop alongside the battalion, towards its far end.

‘What a beautiful animal!’ exclaimed the commander. ‘He must have come to show it off.

‘He must have come to sell it. Buy it,’ added the aide.

The Indian reached the end of the battalion, turned a few times, moved closer to the ranks and trotted back, passing about thirty paces away.

With a calm and graceful trot, it was a flawless animal: slender pasterns, sparkling eyes, small, alert ears, well-proportioned, fresh, spirited, strong, docile, black-grey, without a blemish, with a long, thick tail and mane. For the whole breed, a brand-new girth and bridle.

‘A most beautiful beast,’ said the chief again. ‘It is a horse for the general.’

Having reached the head of the battalion, facing the band, the Indian once again turned his horse in every direction, displaying his skill as a rider and the agility of his animal, and set off at a good gallop back to the other end, where he repeated his displays of skill.

He returned, now at a full gallop and fifteen paces from the ranks. This time he displayed his marvellous agility, mounting and dismounting his horse, lying flat on its back, leaning to one side or the other of his beast, so that at times he showed his whole body, at times just a foot and a hand.

As he passed in front of the centre, he assumed the natural posture of the impeccable rider, upright and steady. Chest out, head held high, the Indian rode past, gazing at the battalion. He rode smiling, with the radiant smile of triumph. His red feather headband shone above his head like a fiery halo.

Without blinking, the commander gazed at the spirited steed, which seemed to be pulling at the reins, its tail and mane flowing freely in the wind.

‘Beautiful! I’ll take him. On the way back, have him halt.

“Certainly, Commander.”

And the commander continued to watch the elegant animal with a pleased expression, as it gradually quickened its pace.

He reached the head of the battalion. And as sudden as lightning, with a tiger’s leap he threw himself among the buglers, knocking several over, and with an iron fist, seizing him by the back of his clothes, the Indian snatched a young lad. A cry of terror and then: ‘Seize him!’ Those closest to him pounced like cats: but the Indian gave them no chance. His action was as swift as that of a predator; the brief moment of stupor was more than enough for him to hoist the

boy onto his back and begin his retreat along the flank of the battalion, leaning forward and glancing at his pursuers from under his arm. A throng of men—soldiers, non-commissioned officers, officers—those who could, followed close behind, almost touching the daring Indian. The band sergeant, a burly man, managed to grab the horse's tail; others clung to the sergeant, who shouted:

'Grab the cornet! At the Indian's heels!

But no one could catch up, even though the horse was at a moderate, compact gallop.

Behind the first group came others, running as fast as their legs would carry them, and many more scattered about, hoping to arrive in time to help the first group once they managed to stop the Indian. The battalion had moved up to the front, and those in pursuit watched anxiously, waiting for the outcome.

'They've caught him!' someone shouted, and everyone ran.

"No! He's getting away!" exclaimed the commander, rearing up to see. "He's gone! Shoot him!"

But all that could be seen above the pursuers were the cornet's legs, twisting desperately in the air.

'Move aside! Move aside!' shouted several, whilst others called out to the best marksmen:

"Sergeant Contreras! Corporal Peñaloza!"

The officers snatched their weapons from the soldiers, and everyone, with their rifles raised to their faces, waited for the chance to fire.

'Step aside!' they shouted at the top of their lungs.

Those closest to them moved aside, but the sergeant and his group were already far away, and they were deafened by rage, until the commander, cupping his hands to his mouth, shouted in a thunderous voice:

"Get out of the way!"

They heard, understood and moved aside, the sergeant clutching a tuft of mane in his hand. But by then the Indian had already got more than two hundred metres away. Besides, the situation had been anticipated. As soon as his pursuers moved aside, the Indian clung to his horse's back, stretched his prey backwards to cover the hindquarters and let go of the reins. The clever beast took off like a dove.

'Shoot at the legs! At the horse's legs!'

A shot rang out, then another, then several. Some were running and firing. There was no time to lose.

‘At the legs!’ shouted a loud-voiced officer in desperation, seeing what everyone else saw: the boy looking back over his shoulder, covering the animal’s entire hindquarters and making desperate efforts to free himself from the Indian’s claws, which clamped down like an anvil’s teeth, whilst beneath him the horse’s legs flew through the air, devouring the space.

“Aim for the legs!”

‘What legs, what legs!’ shouted the commander angrily, swearing foully. ‘Now’s the time! Shoot at the middle!’

And he himself snatched a rifle and fired at full range.

Instantly shots rang out from here, there, and everywhere. But the daredevil was already outside the more or less safe range of the Minié, so it is to be believed that the cornet was carried off unharmed by his captor.

A large detachment of Indians rushed out of that part of the forest to greet their victorious huenitrún, whom they carried off in triumph, disappearing into the jungle amidst a tremendous clamour that thundered through the air.

Stunned, speechless, their lives shaken and their mouths half-open, everyone remained: chiefs, officers and troops, staring at one another for a long while with the dazed expressions of frightened fools. The formation had broken up; everyone was in disarray; the officers held a smoking rifle in one hand and their batons in the other.

Once the initial shock had passed, the commander, who had drawn his sword, paced furiously, asking in a voice choked with rage:

‘Have you ever seen... have you ever seen a more cunning Indian? But have you seen... What a cunning Indian!

And the officers asked one another mechanically if anyone had ever seen a more rogue-like Indian.

A young soldier with an Araucanian face was hiding behind a corporal, covering his mouth and nose with both hands to stifle an irresistible fit of laughter that had seized him. The corporal looked back and, upon seeing the soldier, was infected by the laughter, letting out the first burst of a roar; but with a mighty effort of will, he swallowed the rest, and, turning to face forward with clenched jaws and wide-open eyes, waited motionless.

The troop was regaining its formation, whilst the commander looked back towards the forest. There came the Indian’s pursuers, scattered about, occasionally turning restlessly to look behind them. The sergeant held aloft a tuft of mane as a trophy. The commander stood motionless for a moment, speaking to himself in a solemn tone:

‘Yes. If instead of saying... “catch him”... I’d said... “kill him”! It’s clear... But that damned horse... Something in my heart told me this Indian was up to something.’

He remained thoughtful for a moment and then, raising his head, asked anxiously:

‘Did the Indian greet me when he arrived?’

‘He didn’t greet anyone,’ replied the aide with a desperate gesture of rage.

‘There you go! And how did you say the Indian was coming to sell the horse?’

‘I didn’t say...’

And the assistant cut himself short before the commander’s angry, reproachful gaze, which swept him from head to toe.

And now I in turn ask those who have read in the works of poets, novelists and historians of the heroic deeds of men—those deeds of which humanity cherishes the memory, for they are its honour, its pride, its glory—I ask them if they know of a more beautiful human deed.

This chapter of our history belongs to no chronicler, to no historian. On the nights spent in the field during the War of the Pacific, I had the good fortune to hear it, among many other contemporary episodes of the border war, from the lips of the then Commander Adolfo Holley, today our illustrious general, who, like Canto, Pinto, the Woods and so many others, tempered his soul and his sword in the closing days of that living epic.

5. Supporting documents.

The Annals have gone to great lengths, scouring the writings of chroniclers and historians for anything that might tarnish the reputation of the Araucanians. I cannot follow them in their endeavour; but I wish to dispel one of the accusations most frequently levelled against them: that it was the indigenous people who broke the truces that occasionally brought respite from the age-old war. Loyalty and keeping one’s word were among the noblest traits of the Araucanian character. They were never the ones to break established pacts. They never attacked treacherously. Surprise attacks were their most frequent and terrible method of assault, but only in a state of war. Once war was declared explicitly or through the violation of what had been agreed in a previous peace treaty—as the conquerors were wont to do—the Indians considered themselves released from the obligation of a formal declaration of war; and even during hostilities, they never resorted to cowardly deceit or pretence in order to attack. I have no space to recount specific events, so I shall confine myself to quoting the opinions of certain authors who knew them personally, through which some of the other moral qualities of our indigenous ancestors will also become apparent:

'As regards the qualities of character, the Indians of Chile have been very badly judged. They are said to be men without discernment, without cordiality, without gratitude. Because of the lack of the first, they love freedom excessively; because of the second, they neglect their children entirely; and because of the third, they believe everything is owed to them. Their love of freedom leads them to obstinacy, to the neglect of their children, to the brutality of killing them, and to the right they believe they have over everything, to the greatest excess of theft. Nothing could be further from the truth. Certainly none of those who have portrayed them thus have truly understood the nature of the Indians. I find this the most difficult to fathom, for the Indian devotes all his effort to concealing his own nature and thoroughly understanding that of others.

The author recounts the myriad stratagems employed by the Indians to discern the character of those they regard as friends, and adds:

'If they spoke in honour of the person, they would open their hearts to make themselves known; or they would keep them hidden if the person were not of upright heart towards them, and from whom, as such, they could expect more harm than benefit.'

As advice for winning them over, he says one must not offend their customs, but must proceed with reason, nor should one describe to them the evils of war, for which they have no cure. In particular, one must not offend them 'at the most sensitive point of their reputation, which is keeping one's word':

'After the initial peace agreements were made, in truth they have not declared war except in response to certain extortions committed against them by private individuals, which the government has failed to punish, contrary to the terms of the capitulations.

In conclusion, I say that the Chilean Indian, by virtue of his character traits, must be defined as a lover of freedom to excess, a despiser of life when it comes to the preservation of the homeland, steadfast in toil and endeavour, boastful and haughty in his fortunes, rising above himself in his misfortunes, courageous and fearless in the face of danger, faithful to his contracts, hospitable in his home, generous with his possessions, perceptive in his plans, shrewd and cunning in his schemes, and trusting towards those he believes to be on his side. He loves what he considers to be virtues, such as courage, sagacity, secrecy, cunning, military science, love of country, hatred of all forms of servitude, steadfastness in hardship, and, in short, all those qualities that make a warrior.

There are few families in Chile that have shed more blood than mine. It is the love of truth that guides me, and not the blind passion with which authors have written until now.'

(Collection, volume 14, pages 307 to 310)

The author quoted is a Jesuit missionary who lived among the Indians for many years, Fray Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre, of whom the historian Juan Ignacio Molina says that he depicted Araucanian customs 'with the utmost intelligence and accuracy'. Abbot Gómez wrote at the end of the 18th century:

"It is true that there is nothing more natural, nor of greater force in the human heart, than the love of liberty, and in my opinion, of all the nations of the world, these rebels of Chile have always shown themselves to enjoy it most."

After comparing the Araucanians to the Batavians led by Claudius Zuul in their resistance to Vespasian's legions, he adds:

'In my judgement, these Indians of Chile have never needed another Claudius Zuul for their campaigns, for they all imagine themselves to be Claudiuses in the bellicosity of their nature.

Their way of life stems from having no other trade or occupation than that of soldiers, and for this reason they assign the women to agriculture. They cultivate the fields and attend to all the household chores. And the men whom they deem unfit for war, due to cowardice of heart, they make shepherds of cattle."

('Wars of Chile', by Santiago Tesillo, Collection, Volume 5, pages 10 and 24)

The author rose from the rank of soldier to field marshal and magistrate of Concepción. He wrote in the first half of the 17th century:

“And the kingdom of Chile and the land are shaped like a sword sheath, narrow and long.

And the people there are hard-working, good-natured and intelligent, though barbaric.

They are a well-organised people, for the most part white, well-disposed, and very keen to wage war and defend their land, for which they show the greatest obedience to their superiors.

They have never once fought against the Spaniards, even though there have been countless occasions, without first making their intentions known and sending word.”

(Collection, volume 2, pages 1 and 2)

The author, Góngora Marmolejo, Chile’s first chronicler, fought here shortly after the conquest began. He wrote at the end of the 16th century:

“Such is the character and nature of the Indians, whom some call ungrateful, untrustworthy and treacherous; yet with certain experiences and long-standing knowledge, we who have dealt with them over extended periods (setting aside the hatred and passion that their barbarities have caused in many) can say ‘that their actions and valiant deeds have been justified’—this is from Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, cited work, page 28.”

This reflection concludes the account of a long series of attentions and favours he received from the Araucanians during his captivity. He wrote in the mid-17th century:

“This warlike and spirited vigour is instilled in them from an early age, as they recount the customs of their forebears and elders, who, when children begin to become aware of their strength, compel them with gifts and threats to race up the steepest and most rugged slope within a reasonable distance, competing against one another, promising a prize to the victor.

When they later reach a more advanced age and greater strength, they are, without exception, rigorously compelled to undertake the most arduous martial exercises with various drills according to their robust constitution; if, among those who train in this way, any

weakness or cowardice, or any other incapacity for military service, they are immediately dismissed.

Hence it follows that military offices and commands are granted to no one out of obligation, favour, or affection, nor because they are of better blood or more powerful in terms of wealth and status, if they are personally weak, fearful, or of poor resolve; they are entrusted only to skilled men, with dexterous hands, a robust build, bold, resourceful and fortunate, qualities that are essential for such duties, for they qualify them and make them distinguished among all their contemporaries; since the purpose for which, in their view, they were created is either to die or to conquer, they are not only brave in seeking out the uncertain encounters of battle, but also skilful and prudent in organising their camps’.

(Collection, volume 4, page 17 et seq.)

The author, Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, was chronicler of the Indies under Philip IV in 1625. He had the entire Archivo de Indias at his disposal:

“They know well how to deploy, march and regroup their squadrons when necessary; to form a point when they wish to break through and a square to prevent being broken through; to feign retreat when they wish to draw the enemy out of a stronghold or attack them from ambushes; and, in short, to carry out all those manoeuvres which an alert race learns in long wars, and even certain precautions and skills, the result of refined instruction”.

Although this author believes in no virtue other than Christian religious virtues, and thus censures indigenous polygamy and other customs of the Araucanian admapu, he says that by observing the indigenous family closely one can see that it possesses ‘a domestic order so Christian and prudent that it would be arrogance for the Spaniards to claim more’:

‘Fathers do not place their regard on anything that might appear to be virtue or propriety, but on the modesty of their wives.’

(Collection, volume 4, pages 51 and 61)

And further on (page 334), regarding what outraged them about the conquistadors forcing prisoners of war to work as slaves, he adds:

“As the Chilean Indians are by nature haughty and independent, tamed to obey, not to serve (as Tacitus said of the Britons), one cannot easily explain the depth of aversion with which they have always viewed this intolerable abuse and iniquitous practice of personal service.”

The author of these quotations, Miguel Olivares, was a missionary priest in Arauco for over thirty years. He wrote in the mid-18th century.

The aforementioned González de Nájera (cited work, page 93), with his commissioned animosity, says that the Araucanians have fought so much with the Spaniards “that they have come to regard the practice of war as a delight and a vice. All of which, ultimately, has been enough to make such a profession second nature to them, if not for some particular influence of the planet inclining them towards it, as I understand it disposes them”:

“And so one should not be surprised by their boasts and arrogance, with which they often claim that the Spaniards now know almost as much as they do.”

And on page 136, referring to the eloquence of the indigenous chiefs, he says:

‘So, thanks to his keen wit, he refused to label these Indians as barbarians.’

And on page 48:

“Although there is no justice amongst them, they do not steal from one another, for when they leave their thatched huts, they remain quite secure simply by covering their doors with a bundle of twigs.”

Thus this author contradicts himself at every turn. At times he calls the Araucanians cowards and then praises their courage; on one page he says they are atheists and philistines and later speaks of their god and their priests. The Annals have plenty to choose from, and they have certainly chosen wisely. As an example, here are a few paragraphs from those archives of our University:

‘They robbed one another at gunpoint and ransacked their huts in attacks and raids they called malón.’

The malones were veritable wars between them:

‘In their first encounters with the conquistadors, they did not go into battle forming symmetrical squares but rather successive platoons.’

This, like many others, is a university invention. We have already seen that Valdivia states that they formed closed squadrons. Nearly a century earlier, they presented themselves to the Peruvian forces led by Yupanqui to conquer Chile ‘in formation’, not in platoons, according to Garcilaso de la Vega (‘Comentarios reales del Perú’, page 248).

The Annals seek to establish that the Araucanians took from the Spaniards the little they understood of the art of war. They claim that the battle in which the Indians defeated and killed Valdivia was planned and led by Lautaro, an Indian in the service of the conquistadors from whom he had learnt the art of fighting. Fiction. Lautaro defected to his countrymen’s side when he saw that the conquistadors’ horses were exhausted and on the verge of collapse, a fact that Caupolicán—the true organiser of that victory—might well have been unaware of; thus, the news brought by Lautaro gave them fresh vigour and brought the battle to a close:

‘The superiority of the Castilians’ weapons, the vigour of their mounts, the din—rather than the effect—of their arquebuses and artillery, and the resilience of their armour, all contributed to securing victory for them in these early battles, almost invariably sweeping aside these disorderly bands of savages.

‘The Indians never ceased to be terrified by the roar of the cannons and arquebuses.’

A truly bold assertion by the Annals. Precisely what most amazed the conquistadors—and which all the chroniclers record—is that the firearms, which had struck terror into the hearts of the indigenous peoples across the entire continent, made no dent whatsoever in the steel-like resolve of the Araucanians.

I have already recalled some facts that prove this and quoted the opinion of González de Nájera, Córdoba and Figueroa himself, who was a field marshal in the army; referring to one of Hurtado de Mendoza’s battles with the Araucanians, he says:

‘The artillery he had brought and the arquebusiers fired successfully; yet they endured it without confusion or disorder, advancing with boldness and strength.’

(Collection, Volume 2, page 104)

And further on, on page 106, he recounts Caupolicán’s attack on the newly founded town of Cañete, an attack which the toqui launched at siesta time, believing the conquistadors to be asleep, as a yanacona had falsely told him. The volleys from all the firearms carried by Don García caused a terrible carnage:

‘The devastation of such violent fire,’ says the field marshal, ‘did not deter them, nor did the confusion that such an unforeseen event—finding such preparedness where they had expected carelessness—might have caused them; and they charged at the gates, which were open. The action continued, and after a short interval the cavalry charged them; and although the scene was terrible and of a formidable aspect, they did not yield; but, seeing that their efforts were in vain, they withdrew with heavy losses, an air of ferocity and vengeance.’

They did not oppose the bullets out of ‘pure’ martial vice, as González de Nájera puts it, but because they had no other choice. At one time they devised some planks that were

concealed and placed in front at the time of the first volley, which was the most terrible, throwing them aside immediately and charging to engage the enemy hand-to-hand; but the hindrance of carrying such a shield led them to abandon it, preferring to throw themselves swiftly to the ground as soon as they saw the matchlock's trigger mechanism move or the powder chamber smoke:

'At this time, the Indians carried planks as wide as a cobblestone and four fingers thick to defend themselves against the arquebuses, and those bearing these weapons took up position at the vanguard, shielded by this cobblestone-like barrier to withstand the initial onslaught of the arquebusiers.'

(Góngora Marmolejo, *op. cit.*, p. 77)

The Araucanians used the arquebuses and even the cannons they had taken from the invaders on various occasions; but they were never able to obtain gunpowder, although they knew how to manufacture it. They could not obtain the necessary saltpetre. If their isolation from the rest of the world had not always been an insurmountable obstacle to the supply of gunpowder, that war would have taken a very different turn, as González de Nájera says.

In the statement that 'they never ceased to be terrified', etc., the Annals do not cite any authors; but further on they add: 'At the Battle of Las Cangrejas, upon hearing the musket volleys, some were terrified and others leapt into the air'; and here they cite Córdoba and Figueroa, with their usual good faith. Córdoba takes the description of that battle from the account of Nuñez de Pineda, a participant and prisoner in it, a fact well known to the Annals. Nuñez actually reports that the Indians came at them in a very orderly fashion and, 'to evade the bullets, pressing themselves to the ground' (cited work, page 19):

"To evade the bullets", not out of fear, for that military action was a complete victory for the indigenous forces, as they killed 64 enemies, took 32 prisoners and managed to get 2,000 horses and a large quantity of cattle through, a prize the conquistadors sought to snatch from them by defending the pass that gave its name to that battle (Carvallo and Goyeneche, volume 8, page 316).

The Araucanians had incorporated into their tactics a method of filling the gaps caused by bullets in the front row of their squadrons:

'The Indians were so careful not to let on that their men were being killed by the artillery that, whenever one fell, those nearby would stand in front of him so as not to encourage the Christians'.

(Góngora Marmolejo, op. cit., page 195)

Before a battle began, they would go out one by one or in small groups to challenge an equal number of enemies to single combat. These 'insolent braggarts' would play with their spears or clubs, running, jumping and performing various feats of agility and skill in their handling, either by throwing their spear into the air and catching it on the fly, or by dragging it along the ground:

'The outstanding warriors march at the head of the army, dragging their pikes along the ground: these men are so haughty that they challenge the enemy, like another Goliath, to come out into the field for hand-to-hand combat, and they still do the same today with the Spaniards, as will be seen in due course; they march with great pride and bravado, ambitious for honour, to the beat of their drums and trumpets, their weapons adorned with bright colours and with very gallant and beautiful plumes of feathers'.

(Alonso de Ovalle, volume 12, page 155)

As a comparison, I quote below this description by a missionary friar of that time, and what the university journal says of those very same brave men:

"Before the fight began, some groups would go out as a vanguard to challenge the enemy, making ridiculous gestures, striking strange poses, jumping about, throwing themselves to the ground, rising again, and dragging their pikes along the ground."

All the above quotations from the Annals are from the issue corresponding to November 1899, pages 1013, 1014 and 1022. I shall keep my pencil sharp so that on another occasion I may address the underhanded blows that the State University directs in its journal at the domestic virtues of our Chilean ancestors.

To conclude for today on the Araucanians and their warlike customs, I shall recall that for them war was a very serious matter, which they pondered deeply, discussing it in a public assembly in which all men fit to bear arms and the experienced elders took part. Once agreed upon, the general who was to lead it was appointed; this appointment was made by direct vote, and the position could fall to any of those present, without distinction of social rank. The general, or buta toqui, was fully authorised to arrange everything necessary for the success of the campaign, and everyone owed him absolute obedience.

For the Araucanians, war had a certain sacred character. The general was always accompanied by a priest, not a machi or divine healer—who, according to the Annals, were the indigenous priests—but by a nūngue, invested with the office of supreme priest or nūngue toqui, who, like the Roman augurs, consulted the divine will in the flight of certain birds or in the appearance of their droppings before deciding on a battle. Every member of the army, from the buta-toqui down to the lowest cona or soldier, whether married or not, prepared for the campaign by observing the strictest abstinence. Those who died on the battlefield were assured a place in the celestial mansion, a permanent arena of great and divine battles like the Scandinavian Empyrean, which had thus been the heaven of the Goths' religion in their barbaric era, when they held Odin as their supreme deity. The impassioned speeches of their leaders before going into battle were deeply moving and brought abundant tears to the eyes of the combatants.

6.- A stanza by Don Alonso de Ercilla.

The Araucanian chieftains fought at the head of their troops during the attack and at their rear when it was necessary to retreat. It is in this protection of a defeated army as it carries away its dead and wounded, as the Araucanians did, that the energy and serenity of those men can best be gauged. There are numerous and brilliant examples of this; but I lack the space, so I shall only recall the protection of the Araucanian army by Rengo in the defeat at Las Lagunillas, taking this opportunity to adorn my writing with the most beautiful octava real in the Castilian language, written in Chile by the immortal bard of our race, even though that inimitable gem appears here like a diamond set in lead.

The French writer and critic J. Ducamín, in his study of our national epic (1900), comparing Ercilla with Homer, finds that the author of **La Araucana** equals and even surpasses the prince of poets in the vigour, precision and restraint of some of his descriptions:

'I do not know, for example,' says Ducamín, 'whether in the Iliad or the Odyssey there is a comparison more worthy of a great painter and a poet than that given to us in stanza

44 of Canto 21, which presents Rengo protecting the retreat of the Araucanians amidst a series of ponds.”

He copies it and then adds:

‘One could easily spend a page analysing the beauties of form and content in those eight verses. Yet, if one were to describe them in a single word, one would find but one fitting epithet, which comes naturally: they are Homeric.’

Here is the octave:

‘Down the slope of the lofty mountain

the fierce barbarians were emerging;

The brutal, bleeding, mud-covered Rengo

he gathers them up in the rear,

like the jealous bull driven from his lair

following the straggling herd,

swinging his head from side to side

his stiff neck and high forehead.

7.- The slanders against the Araucanians affect us Chileans directly.

Despite what was unanimously asserted by all the distinguished military men, even by González de Nájera himself, whom the Spanish monarch sent to those regions, regarding the Araucanians' martial prowess—and which forced them more than once to declare that they had nothing to teach those barbarians in that regard and much to learn, as I have recalled, and which led Captain-General Don Alonso de Sotomayor to prophesy in the 16th century that the Araucanians would never be conquered once they obtained horses, despite all this, I say that those who read the ill-fated text of the Annals will regard as fable what has been asserted without dissent by historians, for it is impossible for them to imagine that we ourselves are bent on denigrating a race whose blood we proudly carry in our veins.

And the fact that we carry that blood—and therefore their way of thinking—is a reality; only in Chile are there those who doubt it. From the lines I quoted earlier from the historian Hancock, one can see how that author moves from Araucanian psychology to Chilean psychology without deeming it necessary to explain the transition.

Nevertheless, I harbour the hope that the false assessments, errors and even truncated quotations in that unfortunate history are merely the result of the author's ignorance and the oversight of the senior scholars, for it reveals an incomplete understanding of modern psychology—which is absolutely essential for elucidating matters relating to the civilisation of a race. Thus, on every page, he proves himself incapable even of distinguishing between a lack of culture and a lack

of understanding. In any case, the damage is done, and the discredit that this publication will bring upon us Chileans is of far greater magnitude than that which might be brought upon us by publications in the foreign press or circulars from some of the Latin American colonies established among us, because it discredits us in terms of our ethnic origin, that is to say, in terms of our instinctive qualities, which cannot be altered by education, and whose importance I have recalled. Moreover, this discredit is in the eyes of the wise and the leaders of the great nations, especially those of Northern Europe and the United States, where such studies are cultivated with preference.

The discredit that the press, bent on this task, may bring upon us in the eyes of the Latin nations may, at most, halt immigration of that race into our country, which I do not consider a bad thing, as the colony is already too numerous in Chile. As for our trade relations with the countries of southern Europe, those publications do us no harm: high-level European trade has sources of information far more reliable and trustworthy than newspaper articles.

8. The Goths. Some of the traits of their body and soul. Their spirit is the opposite of that of the Latins.

With regard to our European ancestral lineage, it may be said that denigrating it by attributing all manner of vices and crimes to it has become commonplace amongst writers, both minor and major, in Chile, Spain and other Latin countries alike. The Latin psyche, so profoundly different from that of the Teuton, proves incapable of penetrating the soul of the Goth.

When I speak of the Latin mindset, it must be understood that I am speaking in general terms, which do not exclude the numerous exceptions, particularly in France, where Germanic blood still accounts for some 15% of the population, especially in the cities descended from the Gothic, Frankish, Burgundian and other lineages.

Of the brilliant passage through the world of that virtuous and daring Germanic family, which was the prototype and nucleus of their entire race; which, under the sceptre of Hermanric, the Gothic Alexander, as historians call him, succeeded in forming a single nation out of the whole of non-Roman Northern Europe; which produced writers and scholars such as Jordanes, Wulfila, Isidore of Seville, Villena, Alfonso X, etc., statesmen such as Theodoric the Great, regarded as one of humanity's most enlightened nation-builders; heroes such as Theodoric, of whom Procopius says that 'none of Homer's heroes performed greater feats of valour'; that he lent his lofty religious spirit to the admirable architectural style that bears his name; that he discovered and conquered for his monarch of Spain an empire upon which the sun never set; who, with his distinctive phonetics, contributed greatly to the formation of the Italian, Provençal, Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese or Galician languages; who, with the last scions of his race, soon to become extinct, bestowed upon the Iberian Peninsula that fleeting yet supreme splendour which, in literature and the arts, raised it to the pinnacle

of its intellectual glory; of these men, writers of the Latin school remember only their bloody wars and their devastation of the provinces of the Roman Empire.

The Goths were 'absorbed by the peoples they conquered', says Henry Bradley, one of their historians, and later adds:

'The other great Teutonic nations that swept through the Roman Empire left traces of their existence in the names of the regions they conquered. The Franks gave their name to France, the Burgundians to Burgundy, the Lombards to Lombardy and the Vandals to Andalusia. Not even this small trace remains of the conquests and dominions of the Goths.'

As the belief in the disappearance of this Germanic lineage is widespread, authors who revel in its memory are confident of giving rather than receiving.

The Goths are branded as cruel and bloodthirsty. They did not take pleasure in the suffering of others, and if they were indeed bloodthirsty, this must be understood only in the sense that their wars were fought to the death; their motto was always 'conquer or die'.

As seasoned warriors, they came to regard blood and life—their own and that of others—with supreme indifference.

One must bear in mind, when judging them, that the other branches of their race, which today form the most civilised nations on earth, were deserving of the same reproach in their state of barbarism.

Of the Anglo-Saxons, the philosopher Taine says:

'Pirates above all, for the hunt for man is the noblest and most profitable, they left the care of the land and the flocks to women and slaves: to sail, fight and plunder was, for them, the duty of a free man. They set sail in their two-masted ships, landed at random, killed, and moved on to another place to continue their misdeeds, after slaughtering a tenth of the captives in honour of their gods, and leaving behind them the reddish glow of the fire.'

And according to the English historian mentioned above, these barbarians were the closest kin of the Goths.

The Scandinavians, who are in fact, I believe, the closest relatives of our European ancestors and who today form one of the most cultured and benevolent nations

in Europe, without detracting from their moral vigour, practised human sacrifice until the 12th century AD.

The piracy and depredations of the Normans have become legendary.

The Vandals have enriched the vocabulary of European languages with the adjective that recalls their customs.

What explains why the Goths remained in a state of semi-barbarism for longer than their brethren is the historical fact that they were not able to lay down their swords except for brief intervals. Whilst their other kinsmen were forming nations and practising the arts of peace, tempering their temperament, the Goths waged relentless war against the Moors of Spain for centuries. When the Moors were finally defeated and Granada, their last stronghold, taken, those warriors had a respite, though in truth not a very long one: just seven months after that triumph, Columbus set sail from the port of Palos with his Gothic sailors and embarked, on the boldest of adventures in living memory, upon the discovery of a new world. And they discovered it, and conquered it, with one sole exception: the lost corner of this immense continent, called Chili-mapu by its indigenous peoples.

Before continuing to make my case, I wish to pause for a moment on that memorable event, for it provides an opportunity to highlight a salient feature of Gothic psychology, which history does not record with the care it deserves.

That Christopher Columbus, a great navigator and accomplished astronomer, was fully convinced of the roundness of the Earth and of the possibility of circumnavigating it by sailing ever in the same direction is hardly surprising, for there were many who thought as he did; that he was prepared to risk his life to prove his theories is evidence of a scientific heroism worthy of the highest renown; but that the Goths of Spain, who understood not a jot of the wise mariner's astronomy, should have fought to accompany him is something that those who do not know to what heights the human heart is capable of rising will never be able to explain. Thus the authors make no mention of it.

How pleased Columbus must have been to note the difference between the welcome these men gave him and that which he had received from the powerful figures of the rest of Europe.

Whereas elsewhere, although his scientific doctrines were accepted, when he spoke of carrying out the experiment and strove to dispel fears, asserting that it was feasible and easy to sail, leaning further and further to circumnavigate the vast expanse of the ocean, then to sail headlong along the meridian of the antipodes, and, finally, to ride the waves to emerge on the opposite side of the world, even the most ardent supporters of the theory had taken him for a dangerous madman; in Spain, where such theories held little sway in the academies and universities, and had even been declared heretical, he had found a breed of men who had no qualms about risking their lives in attempting this feat.

I imagine the joy with which the heroic scholar would have seen the face of the first Visigoth to whom he had turned to expound his plan light up, as soon as the latter heard of the 'riches of the fabulous Cathay', the 'Fortunate Islands', 'adventures', 'discoveries', 'conquests', 'new worlds', and the sweet satisfaction with which he would have cut short his speech, repeated a thousand times, at the sight of the Visigoth's prudently raised hand; the man, wishing to spare the scholar unnecessary labour, would have hastened to say to him, in the Castilian of that time and with its particular phonetics that compelled him to omit the d in certain positions and pronounce the s as an aspirated h: 'Don't leave me out, sir, count me in right here and now.'

In my next instalment I shall explain that peculiar way of speaking of the conquerors of Chile.

History must therefore establish that if Columbus had not found a Gothic queen willing to pawn her jewels to help him, and Gothic hearts to accompany him, the daring Genoese would simply have failed to achieve his great feat. He had already tried in vain with other peoples.

And returning to the charges levelled against these men, I shall attempt to address the gravest of them all, according to Latin and Chilean writers and historians: that those barbarians hated the arts and letters, and even boasted of not knowing how to sign their names 'in their capacity as nobles'. And these writers delight in recounting anecdotes and mocking what they consider the height of conceit and foolishness.

Supreme is the disdain with which professional writers refer to those who cannot read or write as 'ignorant'—in a general sense—and there is not usually much distinction made between an ignorant person and a boor.

It seems there is some interest among men of letters, both here and elsewhere, in people confusing literature with talent. These things may go hand in hand, but this happens more rarely than is commonly believed. I hope that this reflection will not lead anyone to regard me as an enemy of literature. It is truly sad to see that even the most learned men have failed to correctly explain this feature of Gothic thought, which was not unique to them, but to their entire race.

Perhaps a great deal of the blame for this lack of discernment lies in the general ignorance of these writers regarding modern doctrines applied to this kind of research. Almost all Latin authors continue to believe that these problems are elucidated by the classical resources of pure psychology, abstract logic and absolute truths. Heredity, selection, variation, adaptation, etc., have remained among them as mere academic speculations, lacking the characteristics of positive science with immediate applications to real life.

And it is not because we Chileans think this way that our writers imitate the Latins, but because of the tenacity with which an education and a mindset are being instilled in us that are not our own, that are at odds with our mental nature, and that are already causing us serious harm; for the lack of correspondence between our innermost thoughts and what is taught to us as truth inevitably leads to mistrust in our own judgements,

indecision of our will, mental anarchy and, ultimately, a corrupting and dissolving scepticism.

The Latin race does indeed show a singular predisposition to remain stuck in old ways and a certain reluctance to embrace the latest step taken in the mental evolution of the human species.

I say that we Chileans do not think this way because I have ample evidence of it from numerous studies involving all manner of people. Even the most recent findings in biology—such as the hereditary transmission of the soul of individuals and peoples, or the special functioning of the organ upon which it acts (it amounts to the same thing)—which have met with so much scepticism elsewhere, I have not seen them met with resistance among us. I shall never forget the pleasure with which I once heard the distinguished General Don Salvador Vergara explain the existence of the fair-haired, blue-eyed Roto with seemingly exclusively Germanic features, being, as he is, the son of an Araucana. His explanation, perfectly in line with biology, was dictated solely by common sense.

It is my knowledge of our own criteria that has led me to adopt the modern method of reasoning in these letters, without fear that, due to a lack of specialised study on the part of some reader, it might remain misunderstood.

After this digression, I return to the Goths, who enter like a legion of barbarians unleashed upon historic Greece, the 'cradle of art', sweeping everything before them with fire and sword, destroying with particular ferocity statues and reliefs, temples and libraries, and causing their soldiers to drive away with whips a procession of rhetoricians who had come, very humbly, to request—no one knew what—from the Gothic leader.

Why did these warriors harbour such a particular rage against Greek sculptures? Why did they desecrate the temples? Why did they treat the teachers of the youth of the entire Roman world so cruelly, without even listening to them?

Was it hatred of art, hatred of the divine, hatred of wisdom and learning that drove these stubborn ignoramuses, as I was taught at the National Institute and as our young people are still taught? No, absolutely not.

The terrible fury that drove their destructive arm, the contempt—or rather the revulsion—they felt for the scholars, priests and gods of the south, had a single, just and holy cause: it was the invincible, immense horror at the unbridled and boundless corruption that had penetrated to the very marrow of the entire southern world, which had surrendered to their avenging sword.

Before their invasion of the Roman Empire, the Goths had lived for a long time in southern Russia, from the banks of the Danube eastwards. There they learnt from merchants, travellers, and so on, of the gangrene that was eating away at their southern neighbours, and so they always took measures to ensure that Gothic youth did not mix with its inhabitants. When they formed their armies and decided on the invasion, they were imbued with their role as avengers of morality and of the Almighty, viciously outraged by that inferior race of effeminate and corrupt men. 'I cannot stop; it is God who drives me

forward,' replied Alaric to a holy hermit who stepped out to beg him not to advance.

But when they beheld at close quarters the spectacle of that much-vaunted civilisation, their indignation knew no bounds. The most chaste and deeply religious soul of the Goths suffered the most bitter and harsh shock at the sight of the sculptures of repugnant lewdness and of man-beasts that filled public places and those intended for prayer, and which they were told were of the gods. It is unreasonable to expect that these men would have taken note of, and thus respected, the works signed by Phidias, so that future generations might delight in their contemplation.

The Goths had ancient and reliable accounts of the priests and priestesses of such gods.

Large numbers of southern women were constantly setting out on journeys to the homeland of these barbarians, where they arrived with an air of mystery, calling themselves soothsayers, deciphering runes and reading fortunes in the lines of the hand. The young warriors, with Apollonian features, the fairest of complexions, veined with blue like their irises, their heads resembling a basket overflowing with gold rings, who blushed like a virgin at the slightest trifle and who were later to become the terror of the Roman legions, did not intimidate those women with black eyes, pale complexions and suggestive gazes. But a day came when those barbarians discovered that these so-called soothsayers were introducing immoral customs into their families and corrupting their youth, whereupon the Gothic king Philimer had them ignominiously expelled from all his territories. On their march southwards, they found these very same women interpreting the divine word in Greek temples and laying down the law to men.

If one were told these things at school, one would have to judge those barbarians differently, and it would spare one the need, in order to know the truth, to have to start studying history all over again in one's old age; but our books are Latin and cannot attach importance to what they deem trivial details, and so the interpretation of events and their judgement of men is Latin.

The Goths were not men who prided themselves on speeches; on the contrary, they mockingly called the southerners 'tongues without arms', so the long-winded speeches of the rhetoricians, whose ways they knew, would serve rather to exasperate them, and so it must be regarded as an act of moderation on their part that they confined themselves to driving them from their presence with a flogging.

Nor did they have much respect for the solemnity, pomposity and bombast displayed by Latin or Greek scholars, whom they called 'bench ornaments', people only "good for waving their arms in times of peace and their legs in times of war".

Those who discuss such matters usually forget that the Greece of those times was very different from that of Pericles; that the Sophists gave a very poor account of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and that there was no longer in Athens an Alcibiades who would go out at night to mutilate with his staff the naked statues of certain gods to whom the Greeks were very devoted, and so the effigies of the great god Prp. had once again risen upright and were revered in squares and temples.

As for the famous Greek teachers, before teaching grammar and rhetoric to their pupils, they began by introducing them to the exercises described by Petronius in his **Satyricon**. I do not think our teachers are acting wisely in siding with those masters and lamenting so much the lashes they received at the hands of the Goths.

Tacitus, who knew them intimately, speaks with great wonder of the immaculate honesty of the domestic customs of the Germans. He cannot fathom how such rough, ferocious barbarians, habitually drunk, could possess habits of such perfect purity. Many centuries passed before modern science explained this phenomenon, placing it within the framework of the psychology of patriarchal races. Today we know that it is the dominance of manly judgement that gives rise to and fosters modesty and chastity within the human family. It is no coincidence that *vir* and *virtus* share the same etymological root.

The Goths found, in all the southern regions they traversed—from Anatolia to Spain—that learning and vice, culture and corruption were invariably united in the same men; it is therefore not surprising that these ideas came to be confused in their minds.

Noble, unlettered and virtuous came to be for them hallmarks of their race, and they bore witness to this whenever the occasion arose. When they realised they were in error, they more than made up for lost time: Ercilla, Cervantes and the greatest writers and artists both before and contemporary to them in Spain were of noble lineage.

Another charge levelled against them is that they were religious fanatics. Wrong.

All the actions of the Goths that are interpreted as fanaticism can be easily explained by examining the political situation in which they occurred. Suffice it to recall that when King Recaredo converted to Catholicism, with a sincerity that does him credit, he wished and secured a record in the minutes of the Third Council of Toledo, in May 589, that ‘worldly motives’ had contributed to his conversion. Only the Gothic women were somewhat fanatical.

Dahn regards the Goths as fanatics, and the authority of this German writer carries great weight. This is not the occasion to analyse this matter at length; but I must point out that the religious fanaticism attributed to the Goths is illogical in light of the historical fact of their frequent changes of religion. From idolaters to worshippers of their Germanic deities, they became Arian Christians under Wulfila, then Catholics under Recaredo; later, a large number of them embraced Islam with the Arabs, only to become Catholics again upon their expulsion. In Chile, several early conquistadors were reluctant to baptise the Araucanian children they captured, as they were certain the children would flee once they came of age to rejoin their compatriots, and that if they were captured again in the course of warfare, they would be punished as apostates. Other Gothic conquistadors accepted the Araucanian family structure and refused to baptise their mixed-race children.

In view of these multiple changes in belief, some authors brand the Goths as indifferent in religious matters, which is also erroneous. The truth is quite different.

The priest-chroniclers of the colonial period also unanimously complain of the conquerors' impiety as manifested in their oaths.

The Goths, like other families of their race, never used blasphemies or dishonest oaths—which are exclusively southern European in origin—but rather those that were foul or impious. The most common among them, after the Combronian oath, was to swear by the salvation of their soul, saying 'I condemn myself if I do not fulfil such-and-such a thing', or else reducing the phrase to the word 'mecón', like the English 'damn', which horrified the chroniclers.

That word has continued to be regarded in Chile as impious and sinful. I remember having confessed as a boy the sin of saying 'mecón', and it was counted among mortal sins.

Other minor criticisms are often levelled at the Goths, but it is not worth bothering to refute them, such as that directed at them by an illustrious national historian, that they were very fond of gold, which makes one smile.

Subjected for many long centuries to the harshest selection, this human race, which in intellectual gifts produced individuals on a par with the most illustrious, was in physical and moral gifts the most brilliant example of what the process of selection is capable of achieving in the perfection of organic beings.

Their slender stature made 'noble' and 'great' synonymous in the southern countries. 'Hidalgo', or 'hijodalgo', as it was formerly called, 'son of the Goth' (hi. del, got) means, in all modern European languages, noble by nature, by lineage; and to explain the meaning of the word hidalguía, dictionaries list phrases and nouns such as 'noble-mindedness', 'magnanimous heart', 'sincerity', 'generosity', etc., and still fall short.

9.- The supreme moral stature of the conqueror of America. Is the Gothic race extinct?

The noble character of the Gothic conquerors of America is evident in every one of the brilliant pages they wrote with their own deeds. Their faults are precisely those of their Germanic race, many of which were in reality merely manifestations of a moral energy worthy of the highest praise. It is moral energy that is the primary factor in the greatness of the Germanic nations, an energy now placed at the service of the new directions of modern civilisation.

The Gothic conquerors of Chile gave countless examples of that supreme virtue in their ceaseless struggle with our indigenous peoples. I draw on González de Nájera, as this chronicler is the author with the most vivid and colourful style of all those who have written about

the colony, a section that depicts the sufferings of those men at this end of the world.

Page 189 of his aforementioned work is devoted to recounting those hardships. He recounts that in the forts situated deep within enemy territory, the garrison went without Mass for years on end (he was a devout man), with almost no clothes, only ragged and patched garments, and a ration of four bushels of wheat or barley flour per person per month, with no salt or any other seasoning; the rest of their sustenance had to be sought in the vicinity of the fort, arquebus in hand:

‘When the time came that the allotted rations of wheat and barley ran out, I initially ordered that, of the two companies I had with me, one should go out every day into the barren and infertile fields to gather thistles—of the sort in Spain that are usually fed to horses—which was the most substantial thing to be found there, and when they had finished (much to the soldiers’ dismay), they would return laden with other unknown herbs, from which some fell ill, and those who remained healthy could scarcely stand. I would set out every day in a small boat I had there (the fort was on the banks of the Biobío); I would go upriver, from whose banks I would bring back a quantity of rough-textured stalks, with large leaves bigger than shields, of a herb called pangue, whose roots serve our men there as sumac for tanning hides. I always had to cut these stalks with my sword in hand, for the soldiers were already showing audacity and a lack of respect when it came to food.

At last, the hunger reached such extremes that not a single shield or any other leather item remained in the fort, until we were reduced to untying the palisade of which the fort was made at night, to eat the raw cowhide straps, rotten from sun and water, with which the timberwork was bound

‘Thus I had some very honourable soldiers in prison, and others whom I found roasting the straps over the embers of the fire.’

González was stationed at one of the many strongholds on the Bio-Bío, far from Concepción, which was the centre of supplies. He was not under direct siege, but with his two companies he could not stray far from his fort without falling into the hands of that ‘plague of Chile’, as he calls the Araucanians; thus he awaited relief supplies, which were to be brought by the entire army. During the prolonged sieges, the hardships of hunger were compounded by attacks from the Indians, which the author himself describes in vivid detail.

Before I finish writing about these men, whom I have come to love and respect as I have set out to get to know them for myself, forgetting what I was taught about them, and the song ‘swallow it, swallow it, foolish Goth’ that they made me sing as a child, I must say a few words about what I think regarding their extinction.

All modern writers believe that that Germanic race has vanished forever from the face of the earth. With a fear that is easily understood, I dare to doubt the opinion of those authors.

I base this view, first of all, on the fact that I can find no convincing reason why an entire people should abandon their homeland without leaving behind, even in remote parts of the country, a few families to perpetuate their lineage.

Jordanes says that the Goths left Scania (Scandinavia) and moved south, but I do not believe his statement should be taken at face value.

Moreover, this Gothic author wrote in Italy in the 6th century and recounts the exodus of his people, basing himself solely on certain traditions that had been passed down among them regarding that event.

Secondly, there is the fact that it is in the lands bordering the Kattegat where the people most resembling the sculptures, drawings and portraits depicting the Goths who invaded the Roman Empire still live today, and that these are scattered across the various countries they inhabited. The most significant of these artefacts are those remaining from the Column of Theodosius, those from the tomb of Theodoric the Great in Ravenna, and the numerous statues and reliefs in the ancient Gothic churches of Spain, particularly the portico of León Cathedral, whose statues of Gothic saints are admirably preserved and date from the 1200s.

Having studied these depictions of the Gothic physiognomy, I have come to the conclusion that the dominant type among them was that of a short oval face, a small, slightly curved or straight nose, and very curly hair; hair that was simply wavy or straight was the exception. The elongated face with a prominent, somewhat hooked nose is exceptional. The hooked, aquiline nose did not exist among the Goths: it is Iberian, Berber or Arab.

It is this common Gothic type that exists to this day in northern Jutland and in the southern part of Scandinavia, with the most clearly defined features. I therefore consider that and other lineages living today in the original homeland of the Goths, across a fairly extensive area, to be Gothic.

The persistence of racial physical characteristics over extremely long periods of time was already noted by Herodotus in reference to the Colchians; but the most interesting observation is that of the English anthropologist E. B. Tylor regarding the striking resemblance between the faces depicted in the statues and drawings of ancient Egypt and those of its present-day inhabitants, a resemblance that has been preserved for over five thousand years.

It is now a proven fact that the extreme slowness with which the physical characteristics of races change also extends to their intellectual and moral idiosyncrasies. It is not only the shape of the head that endures through the centuries, but also the particular functioning of the marvellous organ it contains: the brain.

Even if it were true that the Goths, as a pure-blooded lineage, had vanished from the world, humanity would not for that reason forget their name, nor their martial virtues, nor their indomitable energy, nor the glories of their heroes, nor the fame of their rulers, nor their

wonderful adventures, for the poetic genius of mankind will remember them eternally in four epics: the Nibelungen, the Eddas, El Cid Campeador and La Araucana.

Sir, I think you are quite right to believe that in extolling my forebears I am not being modest; but I have felt the time has come to do so, as you will see in my forthcoming writings, without dwelling on secondary considerations.

If, in a respectable family of honourable lineage, a wayward, degenerate offspring is born, incapable of securing for himself the rank and social standing that his family deserves, his relatives will help him and cover up his failures and weaknesses as best they can, and the matter remains within the family. But if the scoundrel, to justify his incompetence and clumsiness, goes out into the street shouting that his ineptitude is an irremediable misfortune, due to his parents' lowly origins, and the slander is believed and begins to bring the natural consequences upon the family, the family has a moral duty to dust off its old records somewhat, and to drive the rogue away.

10.- Roto, a Chilean national nickname. It was applied to the conquistadors from the earliest times. Only today is it applied to the poor, and this only by some Chileans.

To bring this account to a close, I shall take the liberty, sir, of recalling the origin and meaning of our nickname, which is today taken in a negative light or understood solely as meaning poverty, and which we accept in its original sense.

From the earliest chroniclers, it can be seen that they speak of the conquistadors as men of the poorest attire, and some authors note the word 'roto' to express that scarcity of clothing. The word must therefore have been common in the everyday language of those times.

Cut off from any source of supplies by the sea, the mountain range and the desert, those men who, when not fighting, were forced to live with their beards hanging over their shoulders, as Mariño de Lobera vividly put it, so as not to fall victim to the Indians' ambushes, grew accustomed to paying little heed to their attire.

Referring to this lack of clothing in the conquering army, the historian Carvallo y Goyeneche states that it 'has always been the touchstone by which the obedience and subordination of the Chilean troops have been tested'.

The chronicler Mariño, discussing the same subject, says:

'The Spaniards sustained themselves in this manner for seven years, with no finer clothing than their rations, for the most polished and handsome garments were made of dogskin.'

‘There were our brave Spanish

conquerors, RAGED and naked.

Lacking ammunition and unable

unable to reach the Pirú and communicate.

And what was most distressing was that they could find

any way to hope for better times,

already broken, shattered and lost

for though they had some gold,

it neither clothed nor sustained them.”

(From the rhyming chronicle by Don Melchor Jufré del Águila,
written in Santiago in the early 17th century)

From Francisco Bilbao's report to His Majesty Philip II in 1574, we read that after the 'campeadas' or expeditions against the Indians, the conquistadors were left 'poor, RAGED, ragged' (Collection of Documents, Volume 9, page 470).

González de Nájera (op. cit., page 173) also states that the conquistadors returned from their expeditions 'barefoot, ragged and almost naked'.

Góngora Marmolejo reports that Don Manuel de Velasco complained to the newly established Audiencia that his men were 'tattered and very poor' (cited work, page 161). I have only found it used as a nickname for people in Cervantes. This author uses the term not only in the sense of 'worn-out', 'poor', 'patched', but also in the sense of 'extravagant', 'laughable', as must have been the dog-skin garment worn by the conquistadors, according to Mariño. Cervantes called Don Quixote 'Roto', whose attire, rather than being ragged, was extravagant, and applied the same term to the madman of Sierra Morena, who was indeed wearing a ragged outfit. See the following passage from Chapter XXIII of the volume recounting the encounter between the Ragged Man of Sierra Morena and the Knight of La Mancha:

'As the young man approached them, he greeted them with a hoarse, gruff voice, but not with much courtesy. Don Quixote returned his greetings with no less composure and, dismounting from Rocinante, with a gentle demeanour and grace, went to embrace him, and held him tightly in his arms for a good while, as if long separation had kept them apart. The other, whom we might call the Roto of the ill-favoured face (just as Don Quixote is the Sad One), after allowing himself to be embraced, pushed him away slightly, and placing his hands on Don Quixote's shoulders, stared at him as if to see whether he recognised him.'

The use of the word 'roto' applied to the conquistadors was, therefore, very common. Arms and clothing came from Peru; the governors of Chile continually sent envoys to Peru to bring back military supplies, men, and fabric for their garments—the three items most in demand in this 'kingdom'. I therefore believe that it was in that country, where its inhabitants of European origin were already elegant, that this term first spread in reference to the soldiers of the Arauco War, and from Peru it passed to the other Spanish colonies in the Americas; not in the sense of being poor in money, since those envoys carried with them to the viceroys' court a few sacks of gold nuggets as a token of their standing, nor in the sense of people of the lowest social rank, since the nobility of such warriors was well known there. 'Roto' was synonymous with a soldier of the Chilean War, and as everyone there was one, it came to mean 'Chilean'. It is still used in this sense to this day in that country and across the rest of the continent.

There is also historical evidence that the Goths did not pride themselves on dressing luxuriously, a trait that was racial: Tacitus says this in general of all the Germanic peoples. The Goths always regarded a taste for perfumes, jewellery and the elegant attire of southern Europeans as a sign of effeminacy and superficiality of character. One of the reasons given by the Goths of Spain who rebelled against King Rodrigo was that this prince appeared in public dressed in silk and laden with jewels, which to them was a clear sign of corruption.

It is well known that Emperor Theodosius held back the invasion of these barbarians for some time by forming an alliance with them, granting them positions in his army, in the Senate, etc., and treating them with great deference. Well then, what most outraged the Byzantines opposed to this policy of the shrewd emperor was the Goths' contempt for the majestic Roman toga. Consider what the orator Synesius had to say on this matter:

'Themis and Mars must cover their faces at the sight of these barbarians clad in skins, commanding men who wear the Roman war garb to cast off the ramskin that covers them and exchange it for the toga, so that they may then decide in council with the Roman magistrates the fate of our country; to occupy the most honourable seats before noble Romans, immediately adjacent to the consul, and, upon leaving the Curia, to cast aside the toga with a laugh—which, they say, hinders them from drawing their swords—and to put on the sheepskin once more.'

It even seems that they also flaunted their shabby attire as much as their literary ignorance and everything that signified a deceptive appearance. Recimiro, the Goth, who for seventeen years was all-powerful in Italy, appointing and deposing Western emperors—at a time when these figures succeeded one another on the throne of the Caesars almost as frequently as ministries are changed here—without deigning even once to remove his sheepskin garment to don the imperial purple, made this clear when he learnt that Emperor Anthemius 'lamented in public that he had given his daughter in marriage to a barbarian still clad in furs'. This Anthemius was a lord who had a very beautiful daughter, and since Recimiro did not wish to marry a commoner, he appointed him

emperor. The father-in-law believed that he was in fact the sovereign of Italy and was abusing his son-in-law's patience; but when he took the liberty of looking down on him because of his attire, this forerunner of the ragged conquerors of Chile flew into a rage, moved to Rome, deposed the elegant Anthemius and had him beheaded.

It is worth recalling that it was the barbarians who taught the southerners the use of proper trousers, which the Visigoths wore as long as ours and fastened at the hip.

The custom of reinforcing clothing with leather persisted in Chile until a few years ago; though in recent times we tried to conceal the true purpose of this economical measure by giving the patch the appearance of an ornament, cutting the leather or patent leather into the shape of a playing card heart to sew onto the parts of the cashmere most exposed to wear. The large dog-skin gaiters worn by some huasos are reminiscent of the garments made from the same material worn by their grandfathers.

Those messengers would arrive in the viceroys' city wearing the strangest outfits one could imagine: worn, faded, full of stitches and patches of every kind, and reinforced here and there with pieces of sheepskin, even with Indian trousers and 'four-cornered cape', as they called the indigenous poncho.

The conquistadors thus arrived in Lima full of pride, dressed in their extravagant costumes, which must surely have made the women of Lima laugh out loud at the 'beggars' from Chile.

Those who propagate the term preserve its original meaning, as evidenced by the fact that when we went to see them in 1881, despite not being dressed in rags and having entered the capital in full dress, as was the custom, they called us 'rotos'.

The illiterate roto also gives the national nickname that same scope, as can be inferred from the following anecdote, told off the cuff and without a script; a foreign worker in this province said to a Chilean: 'Look here, man, I'm a roto too,' and showed him a tear in his trousers. The genuine roto gave him a look and replied calmly: 'You're a roto, my friend; you've got a long way to go before you're a roto,' and added after a short pause: 'and you've got plenty to spare.'

Forgotten by the world and by themselves, those illustrious conquerors, concerned solely with fulfilling their duties to their distant homeland as best they could, without pay, half-naked and hungry, sustained only by their heroic spirit, were given a nickname that was the very expression of their virtues. The Latin proverb seems to have been written for them: 'non est cicatrix turpis quam virtus parit'.

We have inherited, as can be seen, along with their blood, their eloquent nickname. And 'he who inherits it does not steal it'.

A Chilean Roto.

March 1903.

Chapter III

The Chilean people and their language. In defence of the race

1.- Echoes abroad of the defamation of the Araucanians. 2.- Who is a roto in Chile. 3.- Campaign against the Chilean people. 4.- Enlightenment and intelligence.

1. Reactions abroad to the defamation of the Araucanians.

Sir: When, in my previous letter, I told you that the publication denigrating the indigenous race of Chile—and therefore your own race today—would be read with great attention in countries concerned with the fundamental issue of races, I was certain of what I was saying, for I leaf through scientific journals from all countries and am aware of the great importance the study of ethnography is assuming everywhere. It was not long before my fears were realised. The post brought me the last two volumes of the *Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, and in Volume 3, Series 5, there is a study by Mr G. de Rialle on the Stone Age in Chile, in which the unfortunate article from the *Annals of the University of Chile* is cited.

Regarding the perforated stones, so common among the Araucanians, the author of this study engages in scholarly speculation as to their probable use. It seems that at the University he was led to believe that such stones might be an Araucanian fetish representing some female deity, a Chilean *lingam*. Fortunately, Mr Rialle knows more than our university journal about the significance of a female deity in a race, for he says: 'I shall pass over the theory which regards them as fetishes representing the female sex, as this is at odds with what is known of the beliefs of the ancient Araucans'. But unfortunately, he accepts—no doubt due to a lack of personal knowledge of the matter—that the Araucan race extended east of the Andes, as the *Annals* assert, an error which I cannot allow to spread without my protest.

The pure-bred Araucan existed only between the Aconcagua and Toltén rivers. To the north and south of those boundaries, the indigenous people were merely mestizos of Chilean descent. The eastern border was always the mountain range as far as the Itata, and from there southwards the western valleys of the Andes were inhabited by the Pehuenches to the north and the Huilliches to the south, peoples whose ethnic origins lay in the Argentine pampas, with only the tribes bordering the Chileans being of mixed Araucan descent. The Huilliche are dolichocephalic or sub-dolichocephalic, whilst the Araucano are brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic. The Pehuenche, a Patagonian mestizo, has an average height of 1.68 metres, whereas that of the Araucano is only 1.62 metres.

It would matter very little whether a man were white, black or yellow, or whether his skull were more or less oval, or whether his bones were a few centimetres longer or shorter,

were it not for the fact that these external signs of the races correspond to diverse souls, and it is moral and intellectual qualities that establish the hierarchy among human races.

Whilst our indigenous ancestors were, as I have said, one of the most distinctly patriarchal families of the entire species, the Huilliches were and are a typical matriarchal caste, with all the corresponding moral characteristics. Suffice it to recall that among them polyandry persisted until the Argentinians took possession of their lands. A woman would ordinarily marry four men and exercised despotic dominion over them. The Pehuenches were a milder form of matriarchy, at least those neighbouring the Araucanos; nevertheless, their women were haughty and licentious, going out to war astride their horses with spears at the ready.

Not only has Mr Rialle been misled by the Annals in this regard, but one of the most diligent and learned German professors in Santiago has also taken the indigenous people mentioned to be Araucanians simply because they speak dialects of the Araucanian language, and describes Huilliche idols and Patagonian gods with daughters entangled in amorous affairs as belonging to the religion of our ancestors, who had a religion without idols of any kind, simple and noble.

Zaballos and other Argentine writers are the originators of the notion that all the Indians of their pampas are of Araucanian descent, a theory accepted by our University. Illusions.

To regard all the indigenous tribes who speak Chilidugu as Araucan is the same as believing that the black people of Martinique are French, and the eleven million Africans in the United States are Anglo-Saxons.

2. Who is a 'roto' in Chile.

As the faults and vices that have emerged or been highlighted in recent times amongst the population of our country concern, according to what is said and published, only the Chilean roto, this and the following letters will refer specifically to him.

But before getting to the point, it is worth clarifying the meaning of the term 'roto', that is to say, to see who we are who are 'rotos' in Chile.

There are some six or seven families in the country who believe themselves alone to be exempt from that label, regarding all other inhabitants of the Republic as 'rotos'.

But there are some forty-odd other lineages that would not for the world accept the exclusivity of the former. 'Stop with the titles,' says one of their members angrily if the matter is raised, and, slipping his index finger and thumb into his waistcoat pocket, he pulls them out and displays them, making a very expressive gesture with them, as if counting

beans, whilst surreptitiously winking. Indeed, apart from themselves, they hold it as an article of faith that their fellow countrymen are, without a shadow of a doubt, 'pure commoners'.

Among those other compatriots are the vast majority of the wealthy, the landowners, the miners, the industrialists, the rentiers, the employees, the army and navy, related to those 'up there' and 'further up', but who reject the nickname because they take it at face value. The tavern-keeper and the lowly craftsman understand the nickname, but them?... and they look at their own attire. It is this category of country folk who smile with one corner of their mouth when they see an elegant craftsman pass by.

It is not that I defend shabby attire, but simply that I am determined that the habit should not be taken for the monk, for in the three preceding categories there are some wretches who walk about very proudly, having been miserably duped by the tailor, and so one must excuse them for not paying their bills.

The very same craftsman who has managed to buy himself a Sunday suit and who gets through the year in the workshop wearing the same suit, also speaks of 'rags' as something that does not concern him, and with the satisfaction with which a corporal speaks of a private, for I have noticed that corporals never speak of a soldier simply as a soldier. The craftsman calls his fellow citizen who lives on the daily wages of his physical labour a 'roto'.

The latter is the only one who, if asked if he is a 'roto', replies: 'I am a Chilean roto, so what?' ... And he stares the questioner straight in the eye.

It is this man I shall focus on, sir; it is in his name that I shall write chiefly today, for he is the weakest, the most defenceless, our younger brother, 'the children', as they call themselves, and truly are of our race, who have entrusted themselves with all the good faith of their manly hearts to those who must guide their destinies, to their enlightened, wealthy brothers who have accepted the task of governing them.

Should the corporal's pride in his mare, the craftsman's pride in his attire, or the magistrate's pride in his distinguished position be condemned? By no means. The Chilean, especially he whose sentiments have not been disturbed by a false education, has the most sound individualistic instincts rooted deep within his being. The common man, therefore, even if he cannot explain it in detail, nor feels the need to know, is convinced that the sweet satisfaction experienced by the man who has emerged victorious in the eternal struggle of natural selection is the most effective stimulus for self-improvement, and he holds this conviction because he feels the pride of advancement most keenly.

3. Campaign against the Chilean people.

I have here before me several copies of the Santiago newspaper containing the most hurtful articles against the Chilean peasant, that foundation of our race. There are several issues

from August last year to the one brought to me by the last steamer. Their campaign is therefore systematic, and as it is the official organ of a political party that naturally aspires to govern us, it is to be feared that this propaganda forms part of that party's programme.

On the occasion of the preparations being made in the capital to receive with due honour the Argentine commission that visited us to celebrate the peace treaties, that newspaper takes note of the event; after hurling at them the most denigrating epithets that came to its pen, it concludes with this exclamation of its wish: 'Their wretched fate is well deserved'.

Under the pretext of analysing the first year of the current administration, another Santiago newspaper has been publishing a programme of good governance for our country, and in that programme it advocates the need to hasten the immigration of foreign craftsmen 'to gradually replace the Chileans', in its own words.

The latest issue of that same newspaper that has reached me jubilantly reports on the arrival of Boer settlers to replace our 'corrupt and degenerate' race.

That newspaper has waged a relentless campaign against the settlement of the south by Chilean families, and one must admit that it has won the day, at least for now.

Only one provincial newspaper, belonging to a Latin American community in Valparaíso, which has taken its bloody epithets against the people who host it to extremes, joins these representatives of the capital's press in their unwholesome task. These Santiago newspapers are written in their hostile sections by people of a race that can never understand the Chilean soul, and so one sees them preaching daily, both those in Santiago and the one in Valparaíso, socialism and feminism as panaceas for social regeneration, and this with the best of intentions.

The newspapers do not discredit us abroad, because those articles are not read outside the country; they merely serve to mislead the currently wavering judgement in Chile on a matter of such importance, which is why we must counter them. But the same cannot be said of studies published in journals such as the *University Annals*, which have the dual prestige of being both a scientific journal and an official publication of our Government. I have already provided you with proof that they are read by foreign scholars.

In that official journal, readers in Europe and North America will have read about the moral and intellectual conditions of the Chilean people, as assessed by those who should know them best—their own rulers—who express their opinion as follows in the October 1901 issue, pages 491 and 492. The *Annals* refer to the end of the 18th century:

'The majority of the population was made up of the lowest class of mestizos, partly brutalised and poor, partly hard-working and useful. By the end of that century, the fusion of Spaniards and Indians had been fully achieved in the north and almost entirely between Chillán and the Bío-Bío. Thus, this racial element, which came to replace the indigenous population and from which our working classes were derived, became widespread throughout all the districts.

The mestizos gradually settled in the countryside and villages, on the estates, as stewards, tenants, cowboys and labourers, and in the cities, as craftsmen, domestic servants and day labourers.

Referring to the flaws it had previously identified in the Goths and Araucanians, the magazine adds, regarding the mestizo caste, and with the decisive tone of a mathematician who, after lengthy calculations, discovers the rule and announces it with a 'which is what we set out to prove', it adds, I say, the following:

"He had inherited the flaws of the races from which he came: intemperate, short-sighted, superstitious and prone to idleness and theft on the indigenous side; quarrelsome, brave, fanatical and fatalistic, and inclined to a wandering life on the Spanish side."

As you can see, the 'flaw' of being brave comes to us only from the conquistador, who, after striding victoriously across two worlds, was unable, in over three centuries and with every manner of weapon and resource, to conquer the cowardly Araucanians, who fought almost naked, with no aid save that of their mountains, and with a mace of pellin and a sharpened coligüe as their principal weapons.

Could it be a sign of the times we live in that we have elevated to a virtue the very opposite of courage? Perhaps this novelty will open the eyes of European readers to the wisdom of our journal and cast doubt on the very possibility of a human race possessing so many and such grave innate defects as are attributed to us. Although it is more logical for them to think, in view of this intellectual display, that the author is deluding himself when he says that the Chileans were only 'partly' brutalised.

I have been unable to ascertain how the author of that History came to know with such certainty and in such complete detail the moral state of the rotos of the century before last, for none of the chroniclers and historians of that century say anything of the sort; on the contrary, the mestizo was, from the moment of his birth, the best soldier in the colony, as even González de Nájera himself states—a slanderer with a vested interest in everything that was not Gothic. The historian Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre, who lived precisely in that century and who knew the Chilean mestizos personally, says in his 'Geographical, Natural and Civil History of the Kingdom of Chile', included in volume 15 of the Collection of Historians of Chile, and on page 284, referring to the mestizos: 'As for the qualities of character, they can be summed up in a single phrase, namely that they took all the best from both nations.' It is clear that this is not the author consulted by the university writer.

In preparation for addressing the issue of our race, I have read extensively on ethnography and can assure you, sir, that only in the odd savage tribe among the most backward in the world—in central Africa, in Oceania, in Hindustan—small, isolated tribes wandering in climates unbearable for races of moderate social organisation—have I encountered such a host of defects and vices so shameful to humanity. Those who have studied those wretched beings cannot hide the horror, the desolation that the most sorrowful sight of such unfortunate and abject beings—belonging to the same natural species as themselves—causes a superior man.

A French commission is due to arrive in South America to study its races; it will surely already be in possession of the Chilean Government's official statement, which will greatly facilitate its task in the most difficult and delicate aspect of ethnography—the psychological aspect; the rest is a matter of handling compasses, rulers and numbers, an almost mechanical task for those with practice.

Perhaps with the aim of spreading the propaganda, volumes of some of the already published parts of that History can be found very cheaply in bookshops, in the same format and with the same material as the Annals; I do not know whether at the expense of the university treasury or as a perk for the editor.

Following this enumeration of our qualities, the Annals are highly optimistic regarding the hidden power of education over 'our working classes' to thereby alter their inherited instincts; but since, among scholars everywhere, enlightenment is currently regarded as incapable of altering the innate character and moral qualities of races—seeing them merely as a veil that conceals them, thereby rendering them all the more dangerous—our government's hopes in this regard will be dismissed as a childish utopia.

So, setting aside the talk of bravery, putting two and two together and clarifying terms, we find that the government we have given ourselves declares that the people whom it has the misfortune, I believe I must say, to govern, are, by hereditary nature, intemperate, short-sighted, superstitious, lazy, thieving, quarrelsome, fanatical, fatalistic and vagrant. For heaven's sake!

4. Enlightenment and intelligence.

I shall not concern myself here with proving that these charges are unjust; I mention them because they are the very ones invoked in the systematic campaign to eliminate the Chilean race that is being waged in our own homeland, as I shall have occasion to prove later, a campaign that will surely be applauded by foreign nations busy seeking a place in the world for their children, and which finds our compatriots putting it into practice with the satisfaction of those carrying out a charitable, simple task, without resistance or danger.

Three accusations levelled at the Chilean people are widely accepted, and although they do not appear on the official list, I shall deal with them first, as I consider them to be the most plausible, and they are:

1. 1. That we are becoming dangerous socialists, a moral rather than an intellectual condition regarded by modern science as a sure sign of ethnic inferiority, and which must therefore be refuted;

2. ° That we are a caste of criminals who ought to be serving life sentences.

3. That with our rudimentary intelligence we have corrupted the elegant Castilian language, turning it into an unintelligible jargon that is a national disgrace.

I must begin with this last point, for if it were true, it would indeed indicate a mental deficiency that would justify the other charges and render it pointless to bother defending a caste of imbeciles.

I also believe it is urgent to refute this error because, as the speech of Chile's illiterate populace is fundamentally different from that of the educated section of its population, it has undoubtedly contributed to spreading the belief that there are two races in our country; a fatal error that we must destroy at its root, with the full cooperation of all those who know or are able to do so, in the conviction that their efforts are being employed in a task of momentous importance.

Among the strange distortions of judgement that have for some time now been undermining the common sense of the public in Chile, one must count the neglect of the great difference that education and culture establish between people; it is this neglect that leads the general public to despise and ridicule the uneducated Chilean population, taking their way of being as an unmistakable sign of stupidity. Here, as everywhere, there are not the enlightened and the ignorant, citizens and peasants, the educated and the rustic, but rather the intelligent and the stupid. Two races with very different intellectual capacities.

This has often led me to reflect that enlightenment, with its immense benefits, nevertheless has a downside: that it is confused with understanding, and that it is believed to be capable of replacing and supplanting it, thereby inverting the true hierarchy—the most important one of all.

There is no doubt that the facility provided by enlightenment, enabling man to encompass in his thought the almost infinite number of facts relating to himself and to the environment in which they have unfolded, across the long series of centuries whose history we know, provides the mind with a volume of data on which to base its judgements that is incomparably greater than that which an individual can gather through personal experience. The discussion and interpretation of these facts by the men of talent produced by the human species in different countries and centuries opens up a new and immense field of light to the mind, extending intellectual life in space, time and intensity in a manner impossible even to imagine for the ignorant. But this marvellous power of enlightenment is incapable of creating talent, of enabling a poorly endowed brain to form accurate judgements by comparing

various mental impressions. The power to compare and judge correctly—that is, discernment, judgement—is a quality of the mind and depends on the physical constitution of the brain; and the more data an incapable brain has before it, the greater will be the indecision and confusion of its determinations.

The problem, then, lies in the fact that memory is often confused with judgement, and this confusion flatters the educated, because enriching one's memory is more or less easy—and even very easy for some—whereas being born with a well-constituted brain is a gift of nature, unfortunately a rare one.

One of the characteristics of Latin thought that is taking hold of us is precisely that of mistaking appearance for reality, form for substance; and it was to highlight the fallacy of this way of thinking that I paused to consider the Goats' sheepskins, and for that very reason I shall dwell on this point in this paragraph, and I shall go on at length, sir, counting on your utmost patience, in the language of the common man.

Neither dress, nor manners, nor language produce an illusion as deceptive as the happy and embellished memory of a man of little substance, nor can any bring about more serious and unfortunate consequences. An educated fool, especially if he is eloquent and has distinguished manners, can become a national calamity in a people who are in the habit of mistaking scholars for statesmen and courtiers for diplomats.

With this triumph of outward form, it is happening in our country that no one now knows—or believes they know—anything that, to say it, does not require a solemn demeanour, a hollowed-out voice and a stretched-out neck; for to say it simply, plainly, in the old Chilean way, convinces no one. The days of Domeyko, Barros Arana, Philippi, Amunátegui, Cood, Fabres, and so on—men who were truly simple and wise—belong to the last century. We are hurtling down this slope far too quickly and will soon come to mistake for a finely carved metal bar what is nothing but gilded moulding without a single carat of gold, leaving the true wealth to those less blinded.

If there are men harmed by this superficial and effeminate way of gauging their worth, those men are the Chilean 'rotos'. The roto has neither fine features, nor is he a smooth talker, nor does he care for adornments and finery; he is not a handsome man, nor does he wish to be. His exterior has something of the opaque rigidity of the hawthorn, whilst the European rabble with which he is meant to be replaced possesses the smooth, glossy exterior of the cane.

A true offspring of this cult of appearance is that stiff, stilted solemnity of both adults and children, which our countrymen in the cities have now adopted, and which is becoming a curiosity for travellers visiting Chile. In the United States and England I have often seen men who are truly superior in terms of their education, social standing and wealth, taking part in sporting games, rolling about on the grass and laughing heartily at the incidents of the match—things that would seem unseemly in Santiago even for a mere candidate for any office. There are men of a serious and grave nature everywhere; but the astonishing number and quality seen here today are Latin signs of the times: the fact is that many of these grave men exploit the prevailing false standard.

The Chilean has no reason to be grave. The Araucanian was, merely, serious because he imbued all the acts of his life with a certain religious character; the Visigoth, with his soul open to all that is grand, was of an expansive and cheerful disposition in his familiar dealings, ready to coin a nickname and celebrate a witty remark, as well as to give and receive the heaviest of jokes. The Chilean who stands head and shoulders above the other statesmen the country has produced, Portales—a fine Visigoth in body and soul, with his cheerful nature, his legendary jokes and his fondness for strumming the *vihuela*—would probably have remained unknown in these times of such apparent gravity and real frivolity.

Chapter IV Language

1. Preliminary remarks. 2. Races and languages of Spain. a) From Euscaro to Latin. b) From Latin to Romance. c) Castilian is not corrupted Latin. d) The number of Germanic tribes that invaded the Peninsula. e) What became of the Goths upon the arrival of the Arabs? f) Goths and Iberians. - 3. a) How Latin changed. b) The verb in Latin and Gothic; a Gothic verb in the Chilean language. c) The plural in Castilian. d) Patronymic surnames in Spanish. e) The influence of Gothic on the formation of Castilian; some examples. f) Rustic Latin. 4. The influence of the Goths on the formation of the southern Romance languages. a) Italian. b) Provençal. c) The clash of races.- 5. a) The Chilean dialect is the language of the Gothic conquerors of Chile. b) The value of the 'd' in Chilean.- 6. a) Loss of words of Gothic origin in modern Spanish. b) Chileanisms of Gothic origin.- 7. a) The 'd' in archaic Spanish. b) Documentary evidence. c) Use of the 'd' in Chilean.- 8. a) The value of the 's'. b) The 's' in Latin. c) The 's' in Gothic. d) The 's' in Castilian. e) The 's' in Chilean Spanish. - 9. a) The aspirated 'h' in Spanish and in Chilean Spanish. b) Influence of the Araucanian language (*Chilidugu*) on Chilean Spanish. - 10. a) The 'l' and the 'r' in Chilean Spanish and in Castilian. b) Documentary evidence. - 11. a) Of the consonant clusters *pt*, *ps*, *kt*, *ks* in Gothic. b) Of the same in Castilian. c) The *gn* cluster. d) Euphonisation of these clusters in Chilean.- 12. a) Traces of Galician in Chilean. b) Castilian words of German origin. c) The conquerors of Chile came from all over, but of all those, only those with Gothic blood and spirit.- 13. a) On the Castilian *b* and *v* and the Gothic *w*. b) On the use of 'vos' in Old Spanish and in Chilean Spanish. c) The word 'hombre' in Chilean Spanish. d) Vowels in Chilean Spanish. e) Prepositions. f) Personal negation. g) Changes in the form of certain words. h) The Echeverría consonant.

1. Preliminary remarks.

The deep-rooted and widespread belief that the Chilean people have corrupted the Spanish language is long-standing in the country and had as its principal and earliest proponents two authorities as enlightened as J. J. de Mora and the learned A. Bello. It is not surprising, therefore, that Chilean linguists have continued to maintain the same view, nor that one of our

foreign professors has accepted it as a fact and is determined to seek the cause of this corruption.

Before addressing this matter, I must remind you that it is very difficult to deal with it adequately in a letter published in the press. Philology is a modern science with its own technical terminology and special symbols to represent the various sounds of spoken language, terms and symbols that cannot be used without going into lengthy explanations, so in this letter I shall be forced to use terms of common usage and the orthographic symbols of Castilian Spanish, writing diphthongs with the Castilian vowel perceived by the ear or with the one that most closely resembles it. These difficulties will prevent me from noting the words from other languages corresponding to the one I mention, and which so greatly illustrate a discussion on philology. I ask you to excuse this shortcoming. In any case, I believe it will be easy to fulfil my task of proving to you that there is no such corruption and that, if Chile had anything to be ashamed of, it would not be our manner of expression.

Another preliminary caveat is that, at present, it is not possible to address any social issue without delving somewhat into its origins; therefore, I shall need to take a brief look at the development of Castilian Spanish, a subject on which many inaccurate ideas, accepted by both peninsular and American speakers, need to be corrected in order for me to develop my thesis.

On a subject as uninteresting to the uninitiated as that of languages—though so beautiful to those who cultivate it—I shall not make a great effort to stop my pen when it strays in pursuit of an associated tangent, whilst always remaining within the general theme I have set myself in these letters.

2. Races and languages of Spain.

a) From Euskara to Latin:

It is a widely accepted view that the early inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula spoke an agglutinative language, such as modern Basque, if indeed it was not this very Basque or Euskara that was used by all its inhabitants.

This people were invaded in prehistoric times by another people, the Celts, who spoke an inflected language; but their language left no known traces in Spain. G. von Humboldt believes that geographical names ending in 'briga' are of Celtic origin. A few words remaining in Spanish from that same origin seem to have arrived later.

The Greeks and Phoenicians, who maintained some trading posts or maritime stations on the coasts of that country several centuries before Christ, and the Carthaginians, who spoke a Phoenician language and managed to undertake the conquest of Spain but were later driven out by the Romans, had a similarly limited influence on the Iberian language.

More than a century before our era and more than four centuries after it, Rome ruled the entire Peninsula. The culture, in every sense, established by the Roman rulers, colonisers and enlighteners of that country, resulted in a change of language among all its inhabitants, with Latin being the only language spoken by all the Iberians, with the exception of the Basques, who to this day preserve their language and assert their rights.

Latin had thus been the language of the Peninsula for several centuries when, in the 5th century, peoples of entirely different blood and tongue began to arrive there: the barbarians.

A few years earlier, several groups of these men had roamed the north of Spain, but with the sole aim of plundering. This time they arrived in vast numbers, bringing their families in large ox-drawn carts. They came to settle in the country, abandoning for ever their homes in southern Germany, where they had lived for several centuries. It was the exodus of the Gothic tribes known as the Suevi and the Vandals, and a few other smaller groups, who came to take possession of this Roman province and to multiply their numbers there (406 BC).

The Vandals settled in the north-west of the Peninsula, in what is now Aragon and Catalonia, and the Suevi established their domains in parts of Old Castile, in León, Asturias and Galicia. The chieftains built their residences on the heights overlooking the chosen valleys of their new homeland, where their subjects settled.

By that time, the Romans were too disorganised and in decline to resist these invasions; yet they retained one quality from which they drew great advantage in those dire straits: their skill in intrigue, a weapon the invaders did not know how to wield. They thus set the barbarians against one another and in this way defended themselves for some time.

In 413, the Visigoths arrived in Spain and attacked and defeated the Vandals in Barcelona, the city where the Visigoth king Ataulf established his throne. The vanquished fled to Andalusia and from there crossed in great numbers to Africa.

But the Visigoths' domains lay mainly north of the Pyrenees; their kingdom stretched from the Loire in the south to the Rhône and the ocean, which is why they later made the French city of Toulouse the capital of their states.

In 418, Wallia, Visigothic king of Toulouse, with Rome's consent, undertook the conquest of the Suebi kingdom of Spain, but without satisfactory results. In 455, Theodoric II, after a long campaign, finally defeated his Suebi brethren, leaving only Galicia in their hands—though they paid tribute—whilst the rest of their domains were governed by Visigothic chieftains.

This situation persisted until 507, the year in which Clovis and his Franks, aided by the Catholic natives of the Kingdom of Toulouse, wrested the Visigoths' domains in France from them, forcing them to take refuge in Spain, where they retained only the province of Septimania.

These historical insights are essential to a full understanding of the development of Castilian Romance. Philology is merely a branch of anthropology, and because this truth has been forgotten—in the attempt to make human language a science separate from the others that concern mankind—the development of philology has been hampered for a long time. It is to this oversight that we must attribute the fact that studies on the origin of the Castilian language remain so deficient to this day.

The Suevi, Vandals, Visigoths, Heruli, Gepids, Alans, etc., were merely tribes of the same Gothic family and all spoke the same language, according to Saint Isidore; but there is a very important observation to be made in this regard: the Visigoths and Ostrogoths had lived between the Dnieper and the Danube probably since the first century of the Christian era and only in the fourth century did they set out westwards, whilst the Suevi, Vandals and Alans remained in Germany, setting out directly for Spain from Upper Germany or Southern Germany. The former were thus separated from the latter for several centuries, which makes it plausible that there were some dialectal differences between them, an assumption that will be reinforced later on.

All the Germanic barbarians adopted the language of the provinces they had conquered, that is, Latin, initially in written documents and their codes, since they did not know how to write and the laws were in Latin because the indigenous peoples of their new states were governed by them. Thus the *Edictum Teodorici*, the *Breviarum* of Alaric, the *Fuero Juzgo*, etc., appeared in the Roman language. The very leaders and authorities of all ranks belonging to the dominant race must have found themselves compelled to learn the language of their new Latin subjects, and the manifold relations between the two peoples eventually led to the adoption of the Latin language, which was the most cultivated and literary among all the conquerors.

It is a well-known fact that, when two peoples come into sufficient contact, the less literate eventually adopts the language of the more literate, even if the former is the dominant one: the Romans imposed their language on the provinces of the empire they held for a sufficient length of time, except in Greece, which was more cultured and which imparted its language to the Court of the Roman Empire established in Constantinople.

But the Latin of the Roman provinces occupied by the barbarians subsequently underwent such a considerable change that it transformed into distinct languages, generally called Romance, and specifically Spanish, French, Provençal, Italian, Romanian, Portuguese and others, depending on the region of the empire in which they emerged.

These Romance languages emerged in the early centuries of the barbarian occupation of those provinces. Therefore, the influence of those Germanic peoples on the formation of the new languages should be beyond doubt; yet, their great significance has remained unrecognised until now, even being denied by some, particularly in the case of Castilian. I shall demonstrate later just how ignorant such views are.

b) From Latin to Romance:

There are two main causes for the transformation that Latin underwent with the Gothic invasion of Spain; in this treatise I shall concern myself solely with Spanish Romance, although what I say of it applies almost entirely to the other sister languages.

The first is psychological, due to the organisation of ideas in the minds of the foreign race, which reformed the syntax of the Latin language and introduced alterations to its morphology and even to the structure of its words.

The second was a physiological, functional cause, due to the different structure of the Teutons' vocal organs, which produced considerable alterations in the pronunciation of Latin words. It is to this cause that Max Müller refers when he says that 'the Romance languages are Latin spoken with a Germanic accent'.

As a result of the changes in the pronunciation of words, they came to be written in their new form.

The Romance language that emerged in Spain must have taken its first steps from the time of the Gothic tribes' settlement in the country, if not earlier, although we have no written documents in it, since Latin was the language used in writing. In that nascent language, Gothic and Roman words must have alternated, as one might reasonably suppose, with the Latin words altered by the Goths, and the Gothic ones by the Iberians. Saint Isidore refers in many passages of his works to that spoken language, the vernacular, which would have been fully formed long before the date on which he wrote, which was in the very century when the Visigoths moved from France to Spain. J. E. Hartzenbusch cites earlier documents in which Latin writers occasionally slipped in some Castilian words, and other Latin words that had become indeclinable, with cases being replaced by prepositions.

The language in which I am writing this letter to you, therefore, came into being before the Arab invasion and continued to develop in the centre and north of the Peninsula, free from any Semitic influence.

It is also known that in the very territories held by the Saracens, the Spanish inhabitants continued to speak their Romance language without their new lords causing them any trouble for that reason.

c) From Latin to Romance:

It is a common view in Spain and the Americas that Castilian is merely Latin corrupted by the disappearance of the culture that resulted from the Germanic invasion of that country, without

the language of the lords of the Peninsula having had, at the time that this new language appeared there, any greater influence on the formation of Spanish Romance than that of leaving some fifty words in it.

Ever since the German philologist Friedrich Diez stated that the Gothic language had contributed only fifty words to enrich the Castilian language, etymologists everywhere have continued to believe this, without anyone having taken the trouble to confirm this view. Monlau raises this number to one hundred, adding proper names of people.

None of the etymologists who have sought to ascertain the origin of Castilian words has thought to examine the language spoken by the Goths, to see whether their language contains any terms from which the countless Spanish words might be derived—words whose etymology is unknown or which are derived from languages with which Castilian had nothing to do. Diez wrote his principal works in the first half of the last century, and it is since his time that the study of Gothic has assumed the great importance it holds today, as it is the Germanic language for which science possesses the oldest documents.

Several authors have surmised that the Germanic peoples must have contributed greatly to the formation of the southern Romance languages; but so far they have not presented evidence such as that which I shall provide later, and by which one may judge the great influence in every respect that the language of the Goths exerted on Castilian. In a rough calculation made for this letter, I have noted down more than two hundred Spanish words derived from that language under the single letter G in the Spanish dictionary.

d) Number of Germanic peoples who invaded the Peninsula:

One of the reasons why the influence of the Goths on the formation of the Romance languages of the Peninsula is overlooked is the mistaken notion regarding their numbers and the place they occupied in the social fabric of that country.

The Goths' occupation of Spain 'was almost purely military', says Monlau, to explain the lack of influence of their language—which this author, like other peninsular scholars, is unfamiliar with—on the formation of Castilian. That is not the truth of the matter.

The Vandal tribe crossed the Rhine towards Spain in vast numbers. The army guarding the tribe consisted of 50,000 men. It is true that most of them went to Africa, with the rest remaining in Andalusia; but they returned to Spain from Africa after being defeated by the Roman general Belisarius in 533. The Suevi left Germany in equally large numbers, for their warriors alone numbered 30,000. The Visigoths were the most numerous of all, but I have found no figures on their numbers in the books I have read; I can only estimate them approximately, as I can those of

the Alans. During the stay of these last two tribes in southern France, when they held the so-called Kingdom of Toulouse, the great Battle of Chalons (451) took place, which, as is well known, was one of the greatest military engagements in history and in which the barbarians fought against one another, much to the delight of the Romans. The invading army, commanded by Attila, comprised the Huns, the Ostrogoths and other, less numerous peoples. The opposing army, under the command of the Roman general Aetius, was divided into three corps: the Visigoths, led by their king Theodoric the Visigoth, formed the left wing; the Alans the centre; and the right wing was made up of Roman legions, which included barbarians of all lineages fighting in the pay of the Empire. Conservative estimates put Aetius's army at 50,000 men, of whom it may be assumed that the Visigoths and Alans formed at least three-fifths, that is

300,000 soldiers. In 553 the Ostrogoths left Italy with their families, Narses providing them with money and everything necessary for their journey. They left the peninsula via the north-west, but it is not known exactly where they went to settle, although it is likely that they did so in the territories of their Visigothic brethren, since France was at that time in the hands of the Franks, enemies of the Goths.

Regarding the historical mystery of the Ostrogoths' whereabouts, I must tell you that I possess a piece of information which allows me to suggest, with all the caution you will understand, that this tribe joined, at least in large part, those who inhabited Spain. The information is as follows: In my research into the physical appearance of the Goths of Spain, whilst examining old paintings or descriptions of those men, I have come across some—truly rare—who had black hair, were of tall stature, and had drooping moustaches as straight as their hair. Judging by their stature, these men were not Iberians, and judging by the colour of their hair, they were not Germanic

What race were they, then? The Edda poem speaks of certain nobles in the army of Etzel—the name given in that poem to Attila—who kindled the love of the heroines with their beautiful black hair and their tall, elegant stature. Now, it is well known that the Ostrogothic nobility formed numerous blood alliances with the Tartar nobility who led the Asian invasion of Europe in the 4th century, and that together, Ostrogoths and Huns, they undertook the conquest of the Roman Empire, an enterprise that ended with the defeat at Chalons, after which the Ostrogoths parted ways with their Asian allies. I therefore believe that the few Spanish Gothic nobles with black, straight hair whom I have found on the Peninsula, among some of the most noble families such as the Hurtado de Mendoza, for example, are of Ostrogothic-Tatar origin. There are, however, authors who claim that the Ostrogoths settled in Provence and remained there as subjects of the Franks, whilst the Visigoths migrated to Spain.

And returning to the estimates of the number of Germanic tribes that settled in Spain, I would remind you that the Ostrogoths were at least as numerous as the Visigoths. But even if we count only those whose arrival on the Peninsula is known for certain, and make the necessary adjustments, the number of soldiers who arrived in that country could be estimated as follows: 30,000 Suevi, half of the Vandals (25,000), and 200,000 Visigoths and Alans, giving a total of 255,000 soldiers, who, I repeat, brought their elderly, women and children in large covered carts, drawn by long lines of oxen. Pérez Pujol, an expert on this subject, in his work *Social Institutions of Gothic Spain*, estimates 300,000 the number of Gothic troops in Spain and southern France at that time.

The proportion of men aged between 18 and 45, capable of bearing the weapons in use at that time, can be estimated at one-eighth of the population—that is, the maximum figure suggested by the statistics—which would give a total number of Germans of 2,040,000. Moreover, this corresponds to the proportion that Byzantine historians attribute to the Visigothic tribe that crossed the Danube in 376: Fritigern's army numbered around 200,000 warriors, and his people comprised more than a million women, children and the elderly.

For more than three hundred years these Germans were the masters of Spain, occupying, as one might reasonably suppose, its richest and healthiest valleys; consequently, by the time the Arabs arrived, there must have been several million pure-blooded Goths, for, as I have noted, their law forbade them from marrying the Iberians. It is known that they reserved two-thirds of the arable land for their exclusive use, where they lived apart from the native population.

e) What became of the Goths upon the arrival of the Arabs?:

But these men, who filled the kingdom, what became of them after the disaster at Guadalete? Spanish historians say they took refuge in the mountains of Asturias, from where, with their king, Pelayo, they undertook the Reconquista. They were, therefore, few in number if those mountains were sufficient to shelter them. The historical truth is quite different, and if the people of the Peninsula have not corrected the history of their homeland in this regard, it is only through neglect, for they have in their own possession the documents that would be necessary for this; but for the sake of my subject, I must set this record straight, even though I cannot provide all the evidence I possess here.

The Arabs, although they carried out some expeditions to the north of the Peninsula, never conquered it, and as from the outset that part of Spain was the main stronghold of the Goths, those who did not wish to submit to the rule of the crescent moon fled there; yet countless Gothic families remained throughout the Peninsula, on their own estates, without being molested in the slightest by the Saracens—whether on account of their blood, their religion, or their language—for the Saracens adopted a conciliatory policy here, as they did everywhere. The Arabs maintained their hold over much of Spain through an alliance with a Gothic political faction within the country. Supporters of the overthrown dynasty of Witiza called upon the Arabs merely as auxiliaries to defeat the usurper Rodrigo, without believing that they would remain there as rulers: 'As for those foreigners, the last thing on their minds is to settle in the country; all they desire is the spoils, and as soon as they obtain them, they will leave,' says the Arab historian Ajbar Machmua, which was how the Witiza thought. The Goths did not reckon with the diplomatic skill of those foreigners. The Saracen general Muza, leader of the invaders, soon realised that Rodrigo's supporters were in the vast majority and that they had only been defeated thanks to his help and to treachery, so it was with them that he allied himself after his victory, cementing the alliance through marriages between his leaders and Gothic women, setting the example himself by marrying his son to King Rodrigo's widow. The 'Rodrigists', as we might call them, preferred to be ruled by the Arabs rather than by the

traitors who had brought foreigners into the country to involve them in a civil war, and also because they were divided by long-standing rivalries with their Witicist brethren.

The Arabs did not bring their families or people to settle the land. They maintained a strong army of Berbers commanded by Arabs, and thanks to the rivalries between the natural factions—which they skilfully exploited—they were finally able to cement their power, which was enlightened, progressive, just and tolerant; but from the outset they made use of their Gothic allies, entrusting them with the highest posts in the administration, as there are numerous examples of this in the Arab historians and chroniclers translated by Dozy.

What has misled peninsular historians is that these Gothic allies of the Moors converted to Islam, and under the protection of Islam founded independent kingdoms from which emerged those in the mountains of Asturias, yet which were as Gothic as the latter. It is now known that the Moorish kingdom of Aragon was such only in name, for its kings and nobles were Goths, and its subjects were the same people who had been there before Guadalete—some converted to the law of the Prophet and others persisting in their ancient faith—which is why the chronicles describe the armies of those sovereigns as composed of Moors and Christians, a distinction that has been interpreted as referring to Spaniards and Arabs.

The Aragonese dynasty of the Beni-Casi, which produced so many kings and generals for all the small states that formed in north-eastern Spain, was of high Gothic lineage, according to Arab historians, and Alberdense also states this. The Beni-Hachia, the Beni-Somadhi and the Todhbidas were likewise Goths. Muza II, known as ‘the third king of Spain’, was of the house of the Beni-Casi; under the protection of Abderrahman II he became all-powerful in those regions of the Peninsula, and eventually rejected the authority of his protector, fighting on his own account one day against the true Arabs, another against the Spanish Christians, and yet another against the French. His exploits throughout Spain were famous, and his raids extended from France to Portugal, where he defeated the Normans who, in the (9th) had attempted to settle on its coasts. The King of France, Charles the Bald, secured his alliance through magnificent gifts and favours. It is the names of these Goths that have so long misled historians. Some of the most noble pseudo-Arab families retained, however, some of their original surnames, such as those of Mohamed-Ibn Lope, Abdallah Pedro-Seco, Beni-Gómez, Beni-Fernando, etc.

It was subsequently the split within the Germanic family that ruled and populated Spain following the destruction of Rodrigo’s monarchy—a split facilitated by Moorish diplomacy—that allowed the Arabs to retain their domains, though not their numbers, which were never large.

In the final days of the Kingdom of Granada, the true Arabs or Berbers were so few in number that they formed a tiny fraction of the population of the Moorish capital. Hernando del Pulgar, in his Treatise on the Kings of Granada and their Origin, quotes Hernando de Baeza, a member of Boabdil’s court, who asserted ‘that of the two hundred thousand souls in the city of Granada, not even five hundred were of African descent, but rather native Spaniards and Goths who had submitted to the law of the victors’. You will see that this writer did not confuse the ‘native Spaniards’ or Iberians with the Goths, and that this was only a few years before the discovery of America, given that Boabdil was the

last Moorish king of Granada, defeated in 1491 by Ferdinand and Isabella. Such confusion between these two races is the creation of Spanish historians from the 16th century onwards.

Undoubtedly, the catastrophe of Guadalete, more moral and political than material, made a profound impression on the Goths, giving rise to numerous rivals to the branches of the old monarchy, forcing them to direct their activities in new directions and to forget their ancient traditions. 'The Spaniards did not wish to be regarded as Goths from the moment Spain was lost,' Mayans and Siscar rightly observe. So it was; the kings of the various states that began to form in the north and centre of the Peninsula from that date onwards no longer styled themselves Goths but Spaniards; yet their blood had not changed, nor had they forgotten their original race: they were Spaniards of Gothic origin. Not only did the kings and nobles of their race keep the memory of their ancestry ever alive, but so too did the Gothic commoners, the *vilis Gothus*, as they were called in the days of the ancient and sole monarchy, who lived on the lands of their nobles, their counts, as clients or tenants. That noble common people, whilst respectful and obedient towards their natural lords, were at the same time proud of their lineage in relation to the Iberians, a pride they kept intact until their extinction.

f) Goths and Iberians:

I know of no more eloquent example in history of the superiority of character, even without literary culture, over mere cultivated intelligence than that presented by Spain in the final years of the coexistence on its soil of those two races. The vivid picture that Hurtado de Mendoza, Mateo Alemán, Vicente Espinel and other novelists of the picaresque genre who flourished in the sixteenth century paint of Spanish society in their time highlights that contrast so clearly that it is undoubtedly the most interesting aspect of those works. In them, we see the conceited nobleman enduring the greatest hardships because he would not stoop to working in trades which he considered proper only for people of low birth. With his diplomas and his Toledo sword as his only assets, and without knowing the first thing about anything, he looked down his nose at the wealthy Iberian merchants and his fellow graduates from Salamanca, who, for their part, regarded this phenomenon as the most natural thing in the world, accepting its consequences. The noblemen who failed to enlist in the king's tercios fighting in Europe or to set sail for this continent stayed there, silently ruminating on their exploits and dreaming of daring and noble adventures in which they would have to risk their lives, or parading their nobility in search of some wealthy commoner heiress whose dowry would counterbalance the suitor's coat of arms and silence the indignation of his peers at such an unequal alliance. While they waited for the hour when the bugle call or the longed-for wedding would summon them, their lackeys—who were never in short supply—provided them with a little money and drafted the memorials they would from time to time submit to His Royal Majesty or to some duke, their protector and distant relative.

Surely those descendants of the conquerors of Chile who, in the 18th century, took refuge in Talca to hide their poverty were of the same stock as the peninsulars,

for there life was very cheap, as one historian relates; these people were determined to work at nothing but agriculture, and since their fathers, having attended to the sword, had neglected the purse, they found themselves left to their own devices with their scrolls, until the King of Spain, Charles III, I believe, issued an edict declaring trade compatible with the nobility. Only then were Chilean noblemen seen in that modest village of the time measuring Castilian baize, mogador, casineta and quimón, weighing charqui, selling relbun and cachanlagua from the 'Frontera', chupallas from Curepto and bonetes from Maule, whilst the lady of the house, with her delicate hands, prepared the corn husks from Colín for cigarettes, much to the scandal of the high-born folk of Santiago.

The Goths of Spain never forgot, then, that their blood was very different from that of the natives. Not only were they keenly aware of this, but they knew perfectly well in which European country they had blood relatives. In his work **Castilian and Portuguese Literature**, F. Wolf recalls that the Spaniards of the time of the Reconquista greeted the Germans who came there to fight the Moors with the phrase 'We are brothers!'.

The conquerors of Chile also called themselves Spaniards, but they never forgot the particular Spanish caste to which they belonged. During a bloody battle with the Araucanians near Yumbel, some Spanish officers told their commander, Rodrigo de Quiñones, that the troops' resistance was exhausted, to which Quiñones replied, 'Let them die or conquer, for they are Goths.'

And here in Chile they were just as scrupulous in preserving the purity of their race as they had been everywhere else. The aforementioned historian-abbot, Gómez de Vidaurre, lamenting the state of certain Chilean noble families in the mid-18th century—that is, in his own time—says:

'... This was not the case in the past. The first Spaniards took such care to preserve the purity of their nobility that they obtained a decree from His Majesty our King, stipulating that every ship's captain bringing passengers must report such individuals to the Government; and not content with this, if they failed to present their documents, they would not consent to give their daughters in marriage to the European who sought them. By this means, the families were kept pure and untainted until the middle of this century.'

Even today, the Spanish high nobility, with justified pride, traces the origins of their lineage back to the Gothic stock.

There were, therefore, in Spain not only Germanic chieftains, as is generally believed, but a numerous people of that origin, and their moral and intellectual influence, which was immense in that country, is a chapter yet to be written. As for their influence on the formation of the Spanish language, I shall provide some evidence of this shortly, and later, when discussing the Chilean language, I shall point out the influence of Gothic phonetics on the changes undergone by Latin words as they became part of Castilian.

3.-

a) How Latin changed:

The general characteristic of the changes Latin underwent when it became Castilian Romance was its simplification. Words were shortened and lost some hard-sounding consonants; their morphology was reduced, with declensions almost entirely disappearing and conjugation being simplified, and their syntax lost the rigidity and fixed word order of the sentence, with words acquiring great freedom of placement.

I believe that the loss of the declensions of Latin nouns must have been influenced by the language of the Goths, because in that language the eight primitive cases were reduced to just three, since the vocative referred to in grammars was always in the nominative form, with all other cases being replaced by prepositions, of which it made frequent use, whilst Latin retained six cases and the use of prepositional particles was relatively less frequent. The long-standing tendency in Gothic to replace the inflection of nouns and adjectives with prepositions became widespread and commonplace during that period, to the point where the emerging language lost these forms, aided by the difficulty the barbarians faced with the complex declension of the words they borrowed from the Roman language.

b) The verb in Latin and Gothic. A Gothic verb in the Chilean language:

The Gothic verb is very simple in its conjugation; it is limited to the present and past tenses, expressing the idea of the future with the infinitive of the verb and an auxiliary; however, the action yet to come was, in the minds of the Goths, more divided and more specialised than in the Romans. Thus, the simple future was expressed with the auxiliary 'hablan' (to have), the idea of necessity or obligation for the verb's action to be carried out was expressed with 'skulan', and that of the action beginning to take place, with the auxiliary 'duginnan' (to begin).

In Spanish we have three future tenses: the so-called future, which we form with the present infinitive of the verb being conjugated and the present of 'haber': 'ama-hé', 'ammar-hás', etc., as in Gothic; the future of the past or pluperfect, which we form in a similar way though with altered endings: 'amar-es', etc.; in Gothic, the present tense of the verb is generally used, conjugated without an auxiliary whenever the idea of the future is expressed by

some other word or by the context of the sentence, as in Spanish: 'if it doesn't rain, I'll go out' – 'if it doesn't rain, I shall go out'; 'I'm going tomorrow'.

The simplifications undergone by the Latin verb are numerous, yet the most subtle modifications of tense and mood of the verbal action can still be expressed in Spanish, since the lost forms are replaced by auxiliaries, as is done in Gothic.

The Latin conjugation naturally lost the passive form, that is, half of its conjugation, which is replaced by the verb 'to be' in Spanish and by its equivalent 'wisan' in Gothic. The infinitive of Gothic verbs ends in 'n' as in German and Araucanian. In the Gothic language there is also another auxiliary for the passive meaning, 'weran' – 'to come to be'. Furthermore, the Latin indicative future (amabo), the two subjunctive past tenses (amarem, amaverim) were lost; of the infinitive, only the present remained, with the perfect and future perfect (amavisse), (amaturus esse) being forgotten; the supines (amatum-u) were likewise lost. The gerund conjugations, deponent verbs, passive forms and active meanings were also discarded, as they were considered a useless burden on the language. Instead, the Goths created the future tenses in their own way, along with impersonal sentences and the fictitious second-person plural—the standard way of speaking in Gothic—and they gave the verb 'to have' the broad and general usage that they applied to their auxiliary 'haban', which the Latins used only in certain tenses.

The following figures will give a clearer idea of the reduction in forms that the new conjugation represents compared to the old.

A regular verb in Latin has between 150 and 160 different forms, not counting the compound forms of the passive voice; a regular Spanish verb has only 52 different forms, and a Gothic one, for the singular and plural, 32. Gothic also has the dual number, which was lost when that language became Romance. The English verb is the simplest of all, as it has only five variations for all its moods and tenses: 'to love' varies only as 'love', 'loved', 'loving', 'loves', 'lovest'; this last form is hardly ever used. With the use of auxiliaries and pronouns, it requires no further endings.

The assumption that the Gothic verb influenced the formation of the Castilian verb is reinforced not only by this considerable reduction in forms in its conjugation and the extensive use of auxiliaries, but also by the survival in Spanish of forms that are very little altered from one of the most frequently used auxiliaries in Gothic. It has always been an insurmountable difficulty for Castilian etymologists to ascertain the origin of the three first-person singular forms of the present indicative and all those of the subjunctive of the verb 'to have'; 'he', 'has', 'ha' or 'hay'; 'haya', 'hayas', 'haya', 'hayamos', 'hayáis', 'hayan', which bear no resemblance to the Latin 'habeo', 'habes', 'habet'. The Latin 'habere' has no present subjunctive. In their determination to trace this verb back to Latin, they have paid no heed to the Gothic auxiliary 'aigan'—to have—whose present indicative forms the first three persons as 'aih', 'aihs', 'aih', also written 'aig'. The second person is not attested in Wulfila because, as I have said, the Goths used the second person plural; but by analogy it may be conjectured that it had that form or else 'aigas'. These Gothic forms bear a closer resemblance to those of archaic Spanish 'hay', 'has', 'ha' or 'hay', also written without an 'h'. The form 'hay' for the first person of the indicative was lost in

15th century in Castilian writing, being replaced by the current ‘he’; but it must have survived in the spoken language and thus reached Chile, where we use it alongside ‘hey’. The practice of writing these forms with an initial ‘h’ in Castilian stems from a misunderstanding regarding their origin.

As for the forms of the present subjunctive in Castilian, they may derive from the indicative form ‘aigan’, which came to be used in subordinate clauses, just as the Latin pluperfect indicative passed into the Castilian subjunctive; or the subjunctive forms of ‘aigan’ may be somewhat altered, of which only three persons are known: 3rd singular ‘aigi’ (g- with the sound found in ‘hago’), 2nd person plural ‘aigiz’, 3rd person plural ‘aigna’.

The present subjunctive in Chilean is the indicative of Gothic, as can be seen by comparing them:

CHILEAN
GOTIC

Sing. 1st “aig”
‘aiga’

Sing. 2nd
x x

3rd sing. “aig”
“aiga”

1st pl. “aigam”
“aigamos”

2nd pl. «aigaz»
“aigas”

3rd pl. «aigan»
‘aigan’

The second ‘a’ in the Gothic inflections is not exactly the Castilian ‘a’ but a sound halfway between ‘a’ and ‘e’, like the ‘u’ in the English word ‘gun’. Nor is the z in ‘aigaz’ the Spanish one, but it was very similar. The s in the Chilean ‘aigas’ is a soft aspirated sound. Neither Gothic nor Chilean use the second-person singular because they employ a fictitious plural. In Andalusia they have the same Gothic verb as we do from that period.

Etymologists conjecture that in the Vulgar Latin of the centuries when the Romance languages began to form, there must have been some obscure verb from which these Castilian forms derived. We see that they were correct.

The literary form of the present subjunctive of ‘haber’, ‘haya’, ‘hayas’, etc., appears to be a syncopation of ‘aiga’, ‘aigas’, etc., with the loss of the ‘g’—a very common occurrence in the Romanisation

of Latin and Gothic, as we shall see later, and it is very common to find it written as 'aia', 'aias', 'haia', 'haias', in ancient writings, from where it came to be written as it is today.

The influence of Gothic thought, as expressed through language, is also significant in the use of verb tenses and moods, as well as in their structure in Spanish; however, it is difficult to demonstrate this here, as it would make this letter far too long and would require me to enter into a debate. I shall merely remind you that the archaic verb 'haber' had the meaning of the Gothic 'aigan', that is, to have, to possess, when it was not an auxiliary. Thus spoke the poet, seeing El Cid march off into unjust exile: 'God, what a fine vassal, if only he had a fine Lord!'. And you see it without an 'h', like the Gothic verb. Although this matter of the use of the 'h' is a separate issue. As 'habere' was an incomplete verb with limited use as an auxiliary, it is likely that the Castilian 'haber' is simply the Gothic 'haban', whose inflections are very similar to the Latin and Spanish ones, and that in the singular of the present indicative and throughout the subjunctive it is derived from 'aigan'.

c) The plural in Castilian:

It is generally accepted that the s ending in Castilian plurals comes from the Latin accusative, which ordinarily ends in s. I, sir, am not so sure of that. The accusative case of nouns has very different grammatical functions from the nominative in a sentence for the Goths to have confused them. These barbarians, on the other hand, to denote plurality, added an 's' or a syllable ending in that consonant to the singular form of nouns: 'bandi'—band, garter, band, bandios; 'giba'—gift, 'gibos'; 'tungo'—tongue 'tuungos', 'manna'—man, 'mans', etc. English forms its plurals with an 's', even though its morphology has nothing to do with Latin. I therefore believe that the Goths simply continued to express the plurality of things in their new language using their primitive method of doing so. Furthermore, in Latin there are also countless nouns that form their plural with an 's'.

d) Patronymic surnames in Spanish:

The existence and form of patronymic surnames in Castilian are also problems that etymologists have been unable to resolve. There is a firm conviction that the form of these words is a genitive: 'González'—from Gonzalo, 'Álvarez'—from Álvaro, etc., but Latin genitives do not correspond to these endings.

In this research, as in all that concerns the origin of modern Spanish, we must turn to Archaic Spanish, which, being closer to the languages from which it originated, provides data or clues that shed much light on these matters. In Old

Castilian, patronymics end in *iz* and *oz*: Roderiz, Gomiz, Gutierrez, Alvaroz and Alvariz, Telliz, Sanchiz, Muñiz, Ovaco, Vermudiz, etc. Over time, many patronymics took on their current form, though some have retained their original ending, such as Ruiz from Rui, Ferrandiz from Ferrando, and others with both archaic forms, such as Muñoz and Muñiz, Ustarroz and Ustariz. Nor do these endings correspond to those of Latin genitives, so they remain a mystery to those who believe that Castilian has nothing to do with Gothic; however, they are perfectly explained by the genitives of that language, which were precisely in *-is* and *-os*: 'dags' – day, 'dagis';

'word' = word, 'wordis'; 'lesins' = 'lycción', teaching, 'lesinos'; 'giba' = gift, 'gibos', etc. Similarly, the adjectives: 'blind' or 'blinds' = blind, 'blindis'; 'hardu' or 'hardus' = hard, 'arduo hardjis', etc. Nouns that form their genitive in various ways are the exception.

As for explaining the origin of the custom of using patronymics in Gothic Spain—something not seen there prior to that date—scholars have also rambled fruitlessly. Ríos y Ríos, who has devoted the most attention to this matter and whose views are respected in Europe and America, in his work **Castilian Surnames** travels through the Rome of the Patricians, through Greece, through Chaldea, or turns to the Arabs in search of what he had at home. It is true that the Iberians did not use true surnames before the Germanic invasion of their country, let alone patronymics, which were not used by the indigenous peoples of Italy either, as they used the mother's name, until the arrival of the Germanic Patricians, so called because they were the only ones who had a known father: but neither they, nor the Greeks, nor the Chaldeans, nor the Arabs used a form of surname from which the Spanish one could be derived. It is the eternal ignorance of the influence of the Goths in the countries where they settled, an ignorance that bears the hallmarks of a true injustice.

I, who have followed them from Scania and the islands of Öland and Gotland in the Baltic, to Prussia, to central Germany, to southern Russia, and from there, step by step, through the Roman Empire until reaching Spain, and embarking with Columbus to reach America and Arauco; having studied their laws, their religion and their language to penetrate their thinking, I find it the most natural and logical, within their distinctly patriarchal psychology, that the Goths should name themselves in remembrance of their fathers' names. The genitive form of patronymics signifies

'son of': González = 'son of Gonzalo'; Muñoz = 'son of Muño', etc. It is the custom in every race: Pérez in Spanish, Peterson in English, Petersen in German, Petrowitz in Russian, and in all of them 'son of Peter'.

Don Alonso de Ercilla often refers to the heroes of his immortal epic by their father's name, as a matter of course, to avoid repetition.

As the Arabic origin of the use of patronymics seems to be overlooked in common belief, I must remind you, sir, that the Agarenos prefixed 'beni' or 'ibn' to the proper name to signify descent, as in Ibn Radmir = 'son of Ramiro', Beni Gómez = 'descendant of Gómez'; they did not, therefore, use genitives but a word signifying blood relationship, which they placed before the name without it forming a single word with it. Furthermore, patronymic surnames appeared on the Peninsula before the arrival of the Arabs and were used by the Spanish military class, which was the Germanic class. In the Becerro de San Milán manuscript, dating from the mid-8th century, the time of the Saracen invasion, there appears a

lord disposing of the property inherited from his father Bermudo Alvariz, who was surely born before 711, the date of Guadalete.

e) The influence of Gothic on the formation of Castilian. Some examples:

As for the words of Gothic origin found in Castilian, I have already told you that their number is vast; I do not give exact figures here because I am currently studying the matter.

The sources from which etymologists derive Castilian words are, first and foremost, Latin, followed by Arabic, Basque, Greek, Old High German; Gothic and Chaldean, and even Turkish and other Asian languages.

Gothic, as I have told you, occupies an insignificant place with its mere fifty words. Old High German has yielded several hundred words, according to Díez, from whom the peninsular scholars draw their information. There are in fact many Castilian words whose etymology can be traced back to that language, as well as to Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian or others of the same origin as Gothic; it is therefore not surprising that in some of these they find the roots of the Spanish word; if they have not found them in the language of the Spanish Germans, it is because they have not looked for them there, and they have not looked for them because they have not taken the trouble to study it. There is, moreover, another reason to explain the similarity of certain Castilian words to the Old High German of the regions inhabited by the Suevi, the Alani and the Vandals, a reason which I shall note later. Peninsular etymologists explain words of this origin by saying that they were brought by the Germans who came on pilgrimage to the shrine of St James the Apostle in Galicia and by those who came to conquer Toledo in 1085 at the invitation of Alfonso VI, or by the other Germanic peoples who used to come, either invited or drawn by the roll of the drum.

I shall cite just a few of the Castilian words whose Latin origin is currently considered indisputable and which, nevertheless, are Gothic. You will see more later on.

‘Suegro’, ‘suegra’; from the Latin socero, socera, with the diphthongisation of the Latin ‘o’ into ‘ue’, the change of ‘c’ to ‘g’ and the loss of the ‘e’—losses and mutations that are very common.

The Goths referred to their spouse’s parents with the words ‘swehro’, ‘swehra’, which are pronounced like the Spanish words with the g slightly aspirated, just as we pronounce ‘father-in-law’, without the back of the tongue touching the palate. The Goths therefore had no need to resort to the rules of phonology cited by etymologists.

‘Ojo’; from the Latin oculus, no one doubts it: the Goths called that organ of the face ‘ogo’, written ‘augo’, but that diphthong was pronounced o when followed by an aspirated consonant, as in this case, since that g is similar to a modern Spanish j. In the *Libre de Appolonio*, stanza 313, a poem from the 12th century or the early 13th, it is written ‘ogós’,

just as 'enogo' is written for 'enojo' in the poem *Los tres Reyes de Oriente* from the same century.

'Mas'; from the Latin *magis*; in archaic Spanish it was sometimes said 'mais' and also 'maes' in Gonzalo de Berceo; 'mais' is said today by the unlettered in various provinces of Spain and is even used in Chile; 'mais' is said today by the Galicians and the Portuguese, and 'mais' is the Gothic word equivalent to the Castilian 'más'.

'Agua'; from the Latin *aqua*. I believe it would never have occurred to anyone to question that etymology, and yet, on reading early Castilian writings, one becomes convinced that this is not the case. The word 'agua' in archaic Spanish meant not only what it means today but also 'river'; thus they called the River Tagus 'Agua caudal', a meaning not found in the Latin 'aqua', but which is present in the Gothic 'ahwa', pronounced as we pronounce 'agua', with a fricative g; hence I believe the Goths had no reason to take the Roman term into account, and indeed they did not, since they used 'agua' with the meanings it had in their native language, so the Castilian term is purely Gothic.

There are many other words in the same category. The similarity between certain Gothic and Latin words stems, as is well known, from the fact that Latin is a language partly of Indo-European or Aryan origin, as was previously said, and partly derived from the indigenous languages of central Italy, whilst Gothic is of pure Indo-European stock.

There are also many words of Gothic origin in Spanish for which no etymology has been found in Latin or in any of the other languages in which it was customary to seek them; yet, persisting in their habit of regarding the Roman language as the almost sole source of Spanish, they contrive to find them there; for example, 'anverso'. The Latin *adversus* does not correspond to the meaning of the Spanish word, and has therefore been rejected; however, the Latin *versus* = 'turned' and *ad* = 'towards' may be suitable, and so they have reasoned in this way to explain the form of the Spanish word; 'anverso' is *versu-ad* in Latin, that is, 'turned towards' = 'facing forward' = the front of a medal or coin. Ignorance of the times in which the Romance languages were formed led to *ad* becoming 'an' and that, instead of coming after the adjective, it was placed before it, resulting in 'anverso'. I must remind you that the Romans had no specific word to name the sides of a coin or medal but simply called them *facies* = 'faces', so that those ignorant people gave a particular meaning to that specific combination of those Latin words; that is to say, they created a word that did not exist. It is easy to understand that the rustic to whom it might have occurred to make such a transposition and alteration of words to make himself understood would not have been understood by anyone, and the invention would have failed. This is not how the common people form words, but reasoning such as the above is very common in Castilian etymological dictionaries. The Goths did not invent 'anverso'; rather, it is a word from their original language, barely altered, 'andwerzi', meaning the face of people and the front or main side of things.

Many other Spanish words that etymologists feel compelled to seek in remote languages because they cannot be found in Latin also originate from the Gothic language: 'Horda'; 'Diez' is believed to come from the Turkish 'ordoe', and 'Phian' from the Turkish 'ordou' = field: Eguilas says it is the Turkic-Tatar 'ordú' – camp. The form of these words is similar to 'Horda',

but not their meaning. The Goths had no need to go to Asia for that word; they called herds and flocks of animals 'herda'.

'Chusma'; from the Greek keleusma = 'command', 'dominion', says Díez, and launches into a lengthy argument to explain how it eventually came to mean the opposite. In Gothic, 'hiuhma' means a populous crowd, an idea inseparable from the Castilian word.

'Jardín'; from Old High German garto = 'enclosure'. In Gothic, a farmstead or garden is called gards.

'Grabar'; from the German graben. And why not from the Gothic 'graban'?

'Zallar' was the Old Spanish term for 'to aim artillery'. The accepted etymology of this word clearly indicates the extent to which the language of the Goths is unknown to those who have studied the origins of Castilian Spanish, and the scant regard they have for their presence on the Peninsula.

Monlau asserts, without anyone having contradicted him, that 'zallar' is an Arabic verb, derived from the Old High German 'sazian' = to put in its place, to position an object. There is no evidence that the Agarenos went to Germany, nor that the Germans came to them bringing words with them; it is therefore more likely that they took it from the Teutons living among them, who used the word 'salgian' to mean to settle or place an object. That word has been found in Arabic writings older than the Castilian texts that use it, which has been the cause of the etymologists' error. The Spanish Goths were late in putting their new language into writing, because in the early days they were occupied not with borrowing words—which they did not need—but with conquering provinces.

The Goths took from the Greeks the word 'tata' or 'taita' and also 'Adela' and the series of terms derived from them, for the root of all these, 'atta' = father, is of Greek origin. This is what is said to this day, but there are objections to be raised against this reasoning. Not only Greek but also Latin, Romanian, Slavic and many other languages across the five continents use a similar word to denote father, ancestor or superior, words which philologists refer to as 'infantile language'. Wulfila's Lord's Prayer begins 'Atta unsar', and we inherited from the conquerors of Chile the expression 'taita Dios', and the custom of beginning the Sunday prayer 'Taita nuehtro', etc. Nor is our word 'taitita' an exclamation, as a dictionary of Chileanisms suggests, but rather an affectionate diminutive—a Spanish, Gothic, Russian, etc., form—meaning affection. The Slavs still say 'tatitsa' with the same meaning as our 'taitita'.

There is a series of Castilian words that could be called hybrids, because they are composed partly of Latin and partly of Gothic. Take, for example, 'Bermudo', a word composed of the Gothic 'wer' = man, and the Latin 'mutue' = mute, and written with a 'b' because Gothic has no consonant 'v'. El Cid alluded to the meaning of his name when he addressed Bermúdez, one of his men: 'Man who is so silent!' And he said it as a compliment.

'Conmigo', 'contigo' and 'consigo' are also hybrids. Etymologists have speculated at length regarding these Castilian terms, and today the explanation devised by Cabrera is accepted; he maintains that they are pleonastic terms composed in this way from Latin: cum+me+cum, cum+te+cum, cum+se+cum. These expressions have never existed in Latin, for the equivalents of the Spanish ones are 'mecum', 'tecum', 'secum', but all is explained by the rusticity of those times and the lack of scholars and academies.

These words are, as I have told you, hybrids of the Latin prepositional particle cum = 'with', and the Gothic ending forms 'mic', 'tic', 'sic', in Scandinavian 'mig', 'tig', 'sig', with the addition of a euphonic 'o', a common practice in the Castilianisation of Gothic and Latin names, as seen in Diego from Didac, Rodrigo from Roderik, Santiago from Sant Yac, etc.

f) Rustic Latin:

Etymologists often turn to so-called rustic Latin in search of certain words from which to derive Spanish terms that bear no resemblance to those in cultured Latin. In reality, in this Latin of the early centuries of the Christian era, one finds many new words and forms of ancient words, as well as constructions never before seen in Latin—words, transformations and constructions that perfectly explain those of the Romance languages, but the fact is that this 'rustic' Latin was the cultured form modified by the barbarians, and the new Latin words were simply Germanic words Latinised by the writers, who were entirely Roman, and hence the similarity in vocabulary and syntax between this 'corrupted' Latin and that of the Romance languages. It was then that the new mixed languages were already emerging.

Please excuse me for a few more words on this point, which is not entirely outside the scope of my purpose.

From long before our era, there existed in Italy a Latin of the people, called *sermo rusticus* by the writers, who referred to their own as *sermo nobilis* or *urbanus*. It is now commonly believed that this *sermo rusticus*, held back for some time by the literary boom of the so-called classical age of Latin, gained great momentum in its corrupting influence during the centuries of the barbarian invasion of the Empire, centuries in which literary and urban culture was unfortunately disregarded and destroyed by vandalistic and ignorant hordes. I have not been able to convince myself, sir, that this is true.

The vulgar or rustic Latin referred to by Quintilian, Cicero and other authors of the classical age differed from literary Latin only in the occasional lack of agreement in complex Latin verbs or other minor liberties taken with the rigorous syntax of that language, and also in the omission, when speaking, of certain final consonants or the contraction of certain words, the most serious examples of which include the expressions 'grat-opus', 'speclu', instead of *gratum opus*, *especulum*. The alteration of Latin from the 5th century and onwards, as found in documents written in that language, was very diverse. In verbs, one naturally notes the general use of auxiliaries, one-person sentences, the future tense in the compound form found in the Romance languages, the loss of declension in

several words, and finally a great number of words never heard from the mouths of the Italian common people at any time. These new words, this new syntax, are, to me, unequivocal proof of distinct vocal organs and a different brain, and that a different race has therefore arrived there.

The same false ideas that prevail in Spain regarding the Germanic influence on the complete transformation undergone by the provinces of the Empire as they became Neo-Latin nations are widely accepted in Italy. As it is only men of letters who deal with these matters in those countries, they generally care little for historical truth; moreover, it is evident in their writings that, even after so many centuries, they still cannot forgive those men of action for not knowing how to read, and they called them 'ornaments of the benches'.

Italy was invaded by the barbarians before Spain, but not only did it suffer these invasions and the settlement of these men on its territory, but those very barbarians formed the bulk of the legions with which the Empire defended itself against the other barbarians who roamed freely on their own. Even before the Common Era, there were in Italy entire legions of northerners brought by Caesar and others, in addition to the thousands of slaves of that race whom the wars brought to that country. The armies of Belisarius, Narses and Aetius were almost entirely composed of Germanic peoples in the service of Rome and Constantinople, and many of their finest generals were also Germanic. The Latins shunned conscription; their former virile and expansive spirit had become a thing of the past.

The southern regions of Europe were thus filled with barbarians from the 5th century onwards. In his harangues against the Goths, the orator Synesius, already mentioned, exclaimed in 396 'Woe betide us on the day when their armies and their leaders, who now live on the pay we give them, mutiny against us and are joined by their many fellow countrymen, slaves scattered throughout the Empire.' After Synesius, thousands more continued to arrive with their families to cultivate those lands as their own. That was the rustic populace that transformed the language of Virgil and Cicero.

As examples of Spanish words derived from Low Latin or Vulgar Latin, I would remind you of 'burgo', which, they say, comes from the rustic Latin 'burgus'. All Germanic languages possess words derived from an ancient Indo-European root 'bhergh' which has given rise to terms meaning 'city', 'protected place', 'height', etc. In Gothic there are several words derived from that root, including 'borgsm', written 'baúrgs', which means precisely 'city'.

'To sit'. In literary Latin there is the verb *sedere*—'to be seated'—but as neither its form nor its meaning corresponds to the Spanish verb, Díez refers to an archaic participle, *sedens*, *sedentis*, derived from that verb. However, Scheler found the supine seditum in Vulgar Latin writings, and since then there has been no doubt that in those times of triumphant barbarism there must have existed some vulgar verb such as seditare, e.g., which, passing through sedtare, would be the progenitor of the Spanish 'sentarse'. None of these verbs or supines express the action of sitting down, the act of taking a seat, which is conveyed by the Gothic verb sitan and especially its compound 'gasitan'—muta—'tribute' and mutarius—'tax collector'—were words that appeared out of nowhere in barbarised Italy. They could not have been corruptions of

a learned Latin word, for there was none resembling them; nor were they an invention of the rustic Italians, but rather words of the foreigners who arrived there as lords, imposing tributes or mota, as they called them, and collecting them through their collectors or motaris, Gothic words which the Latin scribes wrote in their own way.

'Tregua'; from barbaric Latin, although some admit it may come from the German triwa, meaning 'loyalty', 'fidelity', and the Latins of that time took it from the Germans. The Spanish word 'tregua', the Italian of the same form, the French trêve, and the Portuguese tregoa mean 'pact', 'agreement', 'settlement of disputes', rather than 'fidelity', and that is also the meaning of the Gothic word 'triggua'—gruta, from the Late Latin grupta. The Goths used 'grot' or 'hrot' to refer to a sheltered place or the roof of a room: 'Et sic de coeteris'.

4.- Influence of the Goths on the formation of the southern Romance languages.

a) Italian:

I mentioned in my previous note that the Goths had contributed to the formation of the Italian language and of Southern French or Langue d'Oc, also known as Provençal, from which modern Catalan derives. I shall provide some evidence of this.

As for Italian, remember that Italy was inhabited and ruled by Gothic tribes, with varying degrees of success, from the early 5th century until the middle of the following century. During those one hundred and fifty years, the Romance language was born there, and babbling it, first the Visigoths and then their brothers the Ostrogoths arrived in their kingdom of Toulouse. In the mid-6th century, the Lombards arrived in Italy, of the same race as the Goths and speaking a Teutonic language, though of a different family. The Lombards flourished in that country and their rule lasted until the 8th century.

The Romance language that emerged in Italy was initially called Lombard, and later Tuscan; but it is reasonable to believe that it was merely the development of the language that had begun to take shape in that region during the Goths' stay. This assumption explains the following facts: in the 8th century, a Spaniard and an Italian could understand each other directly in Romance, according to a document cited by J. E. Hartzenbusch. César Cantú cites several documents in Vulgar Latin from that century, in which the vernacular words recorded are both Spanish and Italian, and some of them exclusively Spanish, such as 'en' instead of 'fu', and others that are now used only in poetry, such as 'río' for 'fiume'. It was from an Eastern Roman emperor in the 6th century that the oldest future tense, constructed in the Gothic manner, has been preserved in documents: the future 'darás', which in modern Italian lacks the final 's' in the second person singular. In the modern dialects of northern Italy, the seat of the Gothic kings, many Spanish words remain to

to this day: the article 'el', the reflexive 'se', the preposition 'de'; likewise, all infinitives end in 'r', as in Spanish.

Many Spanish words are heard today, although they were more common in the archaic dialects of those Italian regions, such as 'razón', 'forastero', 'camisa', 'templo', etc. The softening of the Latin t into d, a euphonic change that is Spanish and not Italian, as in the participles, which in those dialects end in do and not in to, which is the Italian ending; a euphonic change also used in other words such as 'saludo',

'saludar', 'cadena', 'serenada', 'dedo', etc. In the Venetian dialect, the d derived from the Latin t is entirely dropped in many words such as d and o, 'caena', 'cruo', 'monea', etc., just as in Chilean Spanish. In that same Italian dialect, the letters s, c and z are reduced to the Chilean s and a somewhat voiceless sound in some words. In all these words, Italian retains the Latin t. Italian philologists acknowledge the influence of Provençal to explain the formation of their country's Romance language, but they fail to recall that the barbarians left Italy to settle in the south of France, meaning that the same people gave rise to both Romance languages.

b) Provençal:

As proof that Provençal was created by the same barbarians who formed the Spanish Romance languages, I quote from the 'Gay'-saber or 'Gaya'-ciencia, as the Spanish and Provençals called poetry, written many centuries after the Goths had left France, and in which the Romance language they left behind there had been influenced by Northern French or langue d'oïl:

'In the first part we shall discuss the manner of trobadur poetry (...)

In the second part we shall deal with bordons, new rhymed pauses, rhymes of coblas, verses, chansons, dansas'...

Some of the words in these sentences that are not found in modern Castilian are archaic, such as 'bordons'—verses; 'verses'—stanzas; 'coblas'—couplets; 'part'—part.

These sentences are in French, and as can be seen, neither the form of the words nor their syntax is French, but rather modern Castilian or Portuguese.

The influence of the northern Romance languages of France on Provençal was particularly evident in its phonetics, which has given rise to misinterpretations regarding the pronunciation of Old Castilian.

The Visigoths left behind words north of the Pyrenees that were adopted by the literary language and thus became documented, but which were not recorded on the Peninsula, although they must have persisted in the speech of the illiterate and, through them, reached as far as Chile, of which I shall offer some examples later.

As proof that Castilian was formed primarily in the minds and speech of the Germanic peoples settled in Spain, and not in the minds and speech of the Iberians, one must bear in mind the transformation towards Gothic that Latin conjugation underwent, since the verb is speech, as they say, and furthermore the highly telling fact that the words which passed from Gothic into Castilian appear with very slight modifications, whilst some of those from Latin have become unrecognisable, as will be seen later.

c) Clash of races:

For those who study the movements of human families, their causes and their consequences, there is no event more interesting in all that man knows of his own history than that clash of the races of northern Europe with the southern races of the same continent. The immense expanse of the theatre in which the events took place, the centuries-long duration of the drama, its magnificent episodes, and the fact that the protagonists were the most cultured and refined race in the world at that time, and the roughest and most barbaric in Europe, give this gigantic struggle the proportions of the most grandiose epic recorded in the annals of humanity.

For biologists, that life-and-death struggle between two races of the same zoological order is a natural phenomenon that is repeated incessantly throughout the entire organic scale. It is the eternal law of the perfection of organised beings without exception, from the cell to man; it is the admirable selective struggle discovered by Darwin; the law of the survival of the fittest formulated by Spencer, as universal and inescapable as that of gravitation. The struggle ceases only in species on the verge of extinction.

Above the fires of cities, the slaughter of peoples, the torrents of blood, the seas of tears, the curses of the vanquished and the elegies of their poets, biologists gaze with enthusiasm upon that splendid proof of vitality of the superior species of vertebrates, and their warm and unreserved applause is for the victor of the day, for he who, in that glorious battle, displayed the unquenchable vigour that the species had reserved for its favoured race.

The fair-haired barbarians were not merely destroyers of men and cities; their blood and their spirit were the vital leaven of that mighty gestation from which, amidst ruins and massacres, modern civilisation arose. In that task of resurrecting a decaying humanity, it fell to the Gothic family to make the most abundant contribution of young, life-giving blood.

The lack of knowledge of the language of the Germanic family that first settled in Italy, then in southern France and finally in Spain, when the Romance languages appeared in those regions, has been the reason why the scientific study of these languages remains to this day very deficient, and modern philology will have to review everything that has been done and revise much of the older work.

5.-

a) The Chilean dialect is the language of the Gothic conquerors of Chile:

It is true that the language of the peasant, of the Chilean who has not learnt Castilian at school or in the city, is unique to our country. Some of our words are also used here and there in certain provinces of Spain or countries in Latin America; but the language as a whole, with its particular vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax, is the exclusive heritage of the Chilean. Indeed, our dialect was that spoken by the conquerors of Chile, a point I hope to convince you of in the course of this work.

To fully understand the language of Pedro de Valdivia and his companions and successors, one must bear in mind these three considerations:

1.^a The Spanish written on the Iberian Peninsula in the 16th century, when the conquest of Chile began, was a relatively recently created literary language, which the illiterate populace did not yet speak there.

2.^a The language found in the writings of that time was not pronounced then as Spaniards pronounce it today; Puigblanch is therefore correct in saying that if it were possible to hear Cervantes or Lope de Vega speak, their accent would make them sound like foreigners to us.

3.^a The illiterate peasant has received his language through oral tradition from father to son, so it is not surprising that he does not speak modern Castilian, which the conquistadors, his forefathers, did not know, as the vast majority of them were illiterate.

In the course of this work, you will find evidence to support the above assertions. There is, moreover, historical evidence that both the teachers and the indigenous people learning the Spanish language pronounced it like the conquistadors, not like the scholars. Father Ovalle, born in Santiago in 1601 and died in 1661, discussing in his **Histórica Relación** (Collection of Historians, vol. 12, p. 166) of the resemblance of the mestizos to their European parents, says:

‘Neither their manner of speaking nor their pronunciation (differ), and this is true not only of the mestizos, but also of the Indians of that land themselves, who, when raised among us, speak the Spanish language so well that no difference can be discerned in their phrasing, pronunciation or manner of speech.’

These expressions ‘pronunciation’ and ‘mannerisms’ surely refer to the particular way of speaking of the Spaniards in Chile, for Ovalle wrote in Europe, and was, moreover, a great Latinist and man of letters.

Those men who could not even sign their own names. They had likewise learnt the language they used from their fathers’ lips, so that their speech reflected the written form on the Peninsula in the time before the discovery of America. It is a well-known fact that the changes undergone by a literary language take a long time to reach the illiterate populace.

To find, then, our dialect—which was, I am certain, the one spoken by Pedro de Valdivia, though not the one written by his secretary, the bachelor Cerdeña—one must seek it in the Castilian writings of the 14th and 17th centuries and even in the earliest documents of the Spanish Romance language. In those centuries, many Gothic words remained in the peninsular Romance language, which were gradually forgotten by the literati, who had their sights set on the language that served as their model, Latin, and by that very tendency were restoring an increasingly Latin form to the words of that language that had been too ‘mangled’ by the Goths.

These very circumstances explain two of the characteristics of the Chilean language. The first is that many archaic words survive in it, some of remote antiquity and in far greater numbers than those listed as such in dictionaries of Chileanisms. The second is that in Chile we use several words of Gothic origin which are not found documented in Castilian writings of any period, and so they pass as our own inventions, as true Chileanisms, whilst they are, without doubt, words used by the literate Goths, which the cultured, written language had not admitted.

b) The value of the letter ‘d’ in Chilean Spanish:

As it is not possible to cover everything here concerning our way of speaking, I shall deal only with a few of the most comprehensive and characteristic features of the Chilean dialect.

One of the specific criticisms levelled at the Chilean ‘roto’ by our educated compatriots is that we ‘swallow’ almost all the d’s in Castilian words.

Spanish-speaking foreigners say that all Chilean *rotos*, educated or not, have this voracious tendency regarding the 'd'; and foreigners whose language is other than Spanish claim that this is a general feature of the language. But the truth is that the uneducated *roto* not only weakens the sound of this consonant, but omits it entirely in various positions.

The lingual-dental phonetic value of the 'd' is one of those that has undergone the greatest changes over time and through the varying vocal abilities of different peoples.

In the two parent languages of Castilian, the value of that letter had been undergoing the same transformation since ancient times: in both Latin and Gothic, it tended to lose its explosive, strong character and take on a soft one, similar to that of the *z*, or rather to that of the English *th*, in its two values, and later it ended up disappearing completely, first from pronunciation and then from the spelling of many words.

In Old Latin, from a century and a half or more before Christ, words such as 'altod', 'magistratud', 'dictatored', 'suprad', 'publicod', etc., but it is likely that they were no longer pronounced; consequently, in Latin after that date, this final *d* was also omitted from the written form. That consonant underwent a similar weakening in the middle of a word when followed by another dental consonant: 'rodtrum', 'cadtus', etc., became 'rostrum', 'cactus'; likewise, when followed by an 's' as in 'peds', 'pecuds', etc., which were later written 'pess', 'pecuss', eventually becoming *pes*, *pecus* in Classical Latin.

As for Gothic, it is not possible to trace the history of its phonetic or orthographic variations, because only one significant document in that language survives: a portion of the Bible translated by the Gothic bishop Wulfila in the 4th century AD, when these barbarians dwelt in south-western Russia. This manuscript is known as the *Codex Argenteus*, or Silver Book, because it is bound in solid silver; a book preserved as a relic at Uppsala University in Sweden. The other documents in Gothic are brief, perhaps contemporary with or very shortly after the *Codex*. However, it is noted in that *Codex* that the explosive lingual-dental 'd' does not exist, with fixed characteristics in the morphological variations of the words containing it, but rather as a principle of pronunciation, and when it followed the consonants *n*, *r*, *l*, *z*. Between vowels, although it was written as 'd', its value as a sound was that of a soft English 'th'. At the end of a word, Wulfila wrote either *d* or *th*, apparently without a fixed rule, the former prevailing only in the Gospel of Saint Luke.

Such was the precarious status of that consonant at the time the Goths arrived in the Latin-speaking lands. The tendency of *d* to soften, to fade away until it disappeared, found ample scope in those times of great creative upheaval which the literati let pass by, crouching and silent, and was favoured by the other Gothic tendency to simplify and shorten words.

The Goths thus pronounced many Latin words without the *d*, even though the original Latin retained it, and these mutilated forms found their way into Castilian Romance: 'turbio' from *turbidus*, 'limpio' from *limpidus*, 'hoy' from *hodie*, 'ver' from *videre*, 'rubio' from *rubidus*, 'fiel' from *fidelis*, 'caer' from *cadere*, 'a' from *ad*, 'creer' from *credere*, 'escampar' from *discampare*, etc. In Old Spanish they were far more numerous, but the Latinising etymologists, from the moment they began to

make their presence felt in public, began their protests by shouting: 'Down with the barbarian! Down with the rustic! Down with the ignorant!', and there were those who believed them. They therefore restored many of those letters that had been omitted, noting them down in their writings, and from writing they passed once more into pronunciation.

This weakness or negligence in the pronunciation of the *d*, undoubtedly due to physiological vocal causes, led in Spanish to the replacement of the Latin *d* with other consonants that were easier for the Goths to articulate. In Castilian Romance, the substitution of the Latin '*d*' for '*l*' is common: '*cola*' from '*cauda*', '*esquela*' from '*scheda*', '*olor*' from '*odore*', '*ralea*' from '*radice*', etc. This mutation was also more frequent in archaic Castilian; Juan Ruiz, a 14th-century poet, wrote '*Sábalo*' for '*sábado*'; in the *Fuero* and other writings of that time, '*melecina*' is used for '*medicina*', as we say in Chile. From the Latin *septimana* came first '*sedmana*', then '*selmana*', which became *semana*, just as *Adfonsus* became *Alfonso*; Gonzalo de Berceo wrote '*lexar*' for '*dejar*' in the 13th century.

One of the many forms in which the name of the city that is now the capital of Spain is documented is '*Mairit*', in which the first '*d*' is lost and the last is replaced by a '*t*'—a literary device to ensure the final '*d*' was pronounced, as that '*t*' sounded just like this one. Despite that '*t*', I believe the Goths pronounced it '*mairil*', which is how we pronounce it in Chile, because the final '*l*' remains in the adjective '*madrileño*', the initial '*d*' having been restored later. In the same way, the word '*ardid*' must originally have been '*ardid*', since that form persists in the surname '*Ardiles*', a form we retain in the noun and the adjective: '*ardil*', '*ardiloso*'.

With the above, we are now in a position to explain some of our strangest words, such as the adverb '*airel*' = *adrede*, which even dictionaries of Chileanisms dare not include, and our words '*ailante*', '*almitir*', '*abersiá*', etc.

The difficulty the Goths had in pronouncing the alveolar-dental plosive *d* was compounded when that letter appeared in certain combinations, e.g., in *dr*.

Very few words with this combination have been documented in Gothic; only a handful of verbs and the odd noun contain it, and that is in the initial position. In the middle of a word, it is found only after *n* or *l*, a situation in which, as I have noted, Gothic makes use of that letter: '*vendre*', '*allá*', '*sundro*', '*separadamente*'.

It is still likely that the Goths pronounced '*dr*' as the English often do, articulating it with the tip of the tongue and the front of the palate, so that the dental sound is not perceived, and only a particular '*r*' is heard. Thus the Gothic '*drinkan*' = to drink (Anglo-Saxon '*drincan*', English 'to drink') I believe sounded in their mouths more like '*rincan*' than like '*drincan*' in the way the English pronounce 'drink'.

To overcome this difficulty, the Goths resorted to various euphonic devices. The most common was to place an '*i*' before '*dr*', and so they said—or at least wrote—'*Peidro*', '*Peidrez*'. But it is likely that this '*d*' was not pronounced in the early days, as this name appears

written as 'Peyro' alongside 'Petrū' in early documents where Latin alternates with the nascent Romance language (E. Gorra, *Lingua Spagnuola*, p. 15).

The name Pedro only appears in documents dating from well after the 11th century, and it was not until the 14th or 15th century that it became established in writing alongside its syncopated form 'Pero'. In earlier documents, its form is uncertain and wavering, as it is written in various ways within the same document.

In the donation that Mari Roiz, of Old Castile, made in 1173 to the hospital where she was being treated, it reads: 'resident at the hospital of Sant Peidro de Cardenna' (nn = ñ) 'we give to you, Don Martín Abbat, and to the monks of the monastery of San Pedro de Cardenna, and to those who come after you'... Among the neighbours of the donated lands is a 'Miguel Peydre', written further down as 'Migael Perez', and another 'Pero Sancio'. In the codex of the Poem of El Cid belonging to Pidal y Mon, the oldest known version, written before 1320, only on one occasion (verse 363) does it read 'Sant Peydro'; in all other parts it is always 'Sant Pero'. Pedro Bermúdez, the Cid's illustrious companion, is written many times 'Pero Bermuez', once as 'Per Bermuez' (verse 1841) and twice as 'Pero Mudo' (v. 3302 and 3310), alluding to the meaning of his surname; never as Pedro Bermúdez.

In various other 13th-century documents from Castilla la Nueva, this name is found written as 'Peydro', 'Peidro', 'Petrus', 'Petro', 'Pero' and 'Per', and the patronymics 'Petriz', 'Peydre', 'Pedrez'. A certain Pedro Pérez is already recorded as a witness in 1183 in a donation made by Pedro Manrique to the Order of Calatrava.

In writings from those centuries, "Piédrolas" also appears alongside "Piérolas", whilst "Dídad" had already given way to "Díaz".

The Chilean form "Peiro" is therefore simply the most archaic form of Castilian Romance. In the Venetian dialect, "Piero" remains instead of the Italian "Pietro". The Provençals wrote "Peire" at that time, along with its analogues "mayre", "payre" and "peira". The diphthongs ai/ei were pronounced as e in Provence, according to philologists. Had they always been pronounced that way? The subject of the diphthongisation of Latin vowels as they passed into the Romance languages is a lengthy one, but that Latin e found in 'Petrus', and in that context, never became ei but rather ie, remaining unchanged. The forms 'Pietro' in Italian, 'Piero' in Venetian and 'Pierre' in French conform to the rules; but the Provençal, archaic Spanish and Chilean forms remain unexplained unless one accepts the euphonic origin I have pointed out. In our word

'peira' = stone, we have diphthongised the short Latin 'e' according to the rules, but we have added the euphonic 'i'. This is the way to explain the presence of the 'i' in 'airel', admitting an intermediate form 'aidrel', a form that is often heard, albeit rarely, among us, and which is analogous to 'Peidro'. We shall then see another of these 'attached' i's, which have no other reason for existing than the one mentioned. To a trained ear, it is not difficult to hear a faint lingual-dental sound before the r in our word 'Peiro' and its analogous forms 'maire', 'paire', etc., particularly in the pronunciation of the Colchagüinos and Curicanos.

The forms 'mare', 'pare' and other equivalents of 'Pero', which are commonly heard on the Peninsula, are of later origin than ours, just as 'Pero' is in relation to 'Peiro'.

Our verb inflections ‘tendré’, ‘tendría’, ‘venré’, ‘venría’, etc., I believe were those of common speech in Spain, although until the 18th century they were usually written, as was the rule in the early centuries, as ‘terné’, ‘ternía’, ‘verné’, ‘vernía’, and I believe this to be the case because that is the most logical form according to the historical records, and because north of the Pyrenees ‘tenré’, ‘venré’, etc., were always spoken and written. The verb ‘poder’ formed its future and past perfect as ‘poyré’, ‘poyría’ in Provence, as it is conjugated in Chilean Spanish, at the time when writing on the Peninsula appeared in its current form, ‘poderé’, ‘podría’.

Without straying from this topic, there are still many other words documented in Provençal because it was the first of the Romance languages to become literary, preserving the most archaic forms of certain Latin words euphonised by the Goths; but with the examples given, you will be able to see for yourself that we have not corrupted, as is often claimed, those Castilian words.

In other cases, the Goths resorted to changes that are now inexplicable in order to avoid the pronunciation of ‘dr’; thus they called ‘Esigrio’ the saint and ‘wise Gothic bishop’ who bore the Greek name ‘Isidro’. The Latin word ‘pigritia’ was accepted without phonetic variation in Old Castilian, only being replaced by ‘pereza’ from the 14th century onwards. To date, I believe the Latin form is used only in Chilean Spanish, and almost exclusively in the phrase: ‘Te come la pigrisia’.

Our words ‘vigrio’, ‘vigriolo’, etc., have, as can be seen, analogous origins.

6.-

a) Loss of words of Gothic origin in modern Spanish:

Before citing literary documents to prove that archaic Spanish omitted the ‘d’ from many words that retain it in modern Spanish, I must remind you that such documents were written by people who possessed the literary education of that time, namely Latin; consequently, when writing in the vernacular, they would have borne in mind the spelling of that language, and thus the written Romance language would have been more refined than that spoken by the illiterate. It is not implausible that what is said of the teacher from Colchagua might have happened to them; whilst correcting a pupil’s handwriting, he would say in a reproachful tone: ‘sordao is spelled with an l and a d’.

It must also be borne in mind, in order to appreciate the chronological value of certain archaic Spanish writings, that the most interesting manuscripts have been amended with the aim of replacing their original spelling with that in use at the time of the correction. The manuscript of El Cid, mentioned earlier, has been corrected on several occasions for that purpose, and

only through delicate chemical processes has it been possible to restore its original spelling, believed to date from 1307.

There is ample evidence that the language spoken in Spain in the early centuries for which we have written records was more Gothic in its vocabulary and phonetics.

Many words of Germanic origin found in the earliest Castilian writings were gradually replaced by others of Latin origin: 'ardido' from the Gothic 'hardus' gave way to 'esforzado', 'animoso'; 'guisa' from 'wisa' gave way to 'manera', 'modo'; 'fisgar' from 'fiskón' to 'pescar'; 'adrunar' (a hybrid word from the Latin 'ad' and the Gothic 'runa' = 'mystery', 'secret deliberation') to 'adivinar'; 'mataloje', also a hybrid, to 'provisions', etc. Furthermore, they must have used many other words of Gothic origin that were not accepted by writers, which would remain only in the language spoken by the Goths of Spain. Some of these appeared for the first time in Castilian writings here in the Americas, which is why dictionaries list them as Americanisms, as inventions of the conquistadors here in the New World they had conquered. Of this kind are 'guasábara', a surprise attack launched by the conquistadors against the Indians, which comes from 'hwasaba', 'mita', 'distribution of Indians'. In Old Spanish, 'mita' was used to mean 'medida', but the meaning given to that word in the Americas was unknown in Europe in written language. 'Mita' is a Gothic word, from 'mitán', meaning 'to apportion', 'to divide for distribution'. Tranca, in the sense of 'drunkenness', is the Gothic 'drank', from 'drinkán' = to drink, 'trank' in German. Guaraca, in addition to the 'whip' with which it is carried out, signifies the 'act of chasing with lashes', and thus one says 'correrle guaraca' for 'to chase or drive away someone with lashes', from the Gothic 'wraka' = to chase. There are several others in this category, which the conquistadors naturally adopted in their new homeland, and for which there are still no equivalents.

On the Iberian Peninsula itself, some words of Germanic origin appeared relatively late, but it is likely that they were not coined at the time they appear in documents, but rather belonged to the spoken language and were subsequently adopted by the literati. Thus, until the 14th or 15th century, 'fol' was used to mean 'mad', a word derived from the Gothic 'fuls', and from those centuries to the present day only 'loco' is used, which is also of Gothic origin, as it comes from 'laikán' = to jump, to caper, to go mad.

Regarding the etymology of these Castilian words 'fol' or 'loco', there are various opinions among the people of the Iberian Peninsula which are highly illustrative of the points that knowledge in this field covers. 'Fol', they say, comes from the Latin 'folis' = bellows, because madmen move by swaying, with a rocking motion, like that instrument when it performs its function. As there is no other word in any of the languages they consult for etymologies that resembles 'fol' and 'folia' (archaic 'locura'), they turned to the aforementioned instrument, and so it remains. As for the word 'loco', several very similar Latin terms have been found: 'locus' = place, 'lucus' = forest, 'lux' = light; these have been proposed by serious scholars, but have been rejected on the grounds that there is no way to link the concepts between the derived term and those primitives. Attention then turned to the Latin 'loqui' = to speak, recalling the charlatans that some madmen are. Another proposed from the same language 'ululare' = to howl, because it happens that some of these wretches do howl. Not satisfied, another author claimed that the Arabs said 'loccao' for 'madness', and that opinion prevailed until it was realised

realisation that, unfortunately, no such word existed in Arabic. A Greek etymology has also been proposed: 'alogos' = one who lacks reason in arguments. Monlau, who analyses all these etymologies, rejects them all—in which he is correct—and concludes by saying: 'It is more likely, however, that we must look to a Celtic origin', in which he is mistaken.

As I mentioned in one of the previous entries, the Castilians are also behind the times in their knowledge of their own language; for those etymologies he noted down are of the sort that experts call 'by consonance', or 'by sound', as Eduardo de la Barra put it.

In proposing the Gothic etymologies I have noted, I have taken into account not only the external form of the words but also their meaning. 'Fuls' is attested in Gothic with the meaning of 'dirty', 'putrid'. But we must remember that of that language we possess only the fragments of the Bible I have mentioned and the odd short inscription, so it is not far-fetched to suppose that it was also used with other analogous meanings and in a metaphorical sense. In Old English, it was pronounced as in Gothic, 'ful', from which modern English has derived the word 'foul', which is used especially in a figurative sense to denote a despicable, vile person of a perverse and repugnant nature. In almost all Germanic languages there are words similar in form and meaning to the Gothic 'fuls'. In Old Spanish, 'folón' was used, and later 'follón' in Cervantes' time; these words reveal the transferred meaning, as they were employed in the sense of 'coward', 'scoundrel' or 'despicable'. The French word 'fou' and the Italian 'folle' have the same moral connotation, meaning 'mad' in Spanish; the Spanish, French and Provençal 'felón', and the Italian 'fellone', etc., etc.

From the idea of something repugnant and vile, it passed into the Castilianised Gothic term to denote a person possessing such moral and mental qualities, and in this sense it was used by scholars; but a madman, a lover, is more worthy of pity than of censure for his unfortunate moral state; thus only 'follón', 'felón', 'felonia', etc., remained, and to characterise the man who has lost his reason, the word 'loco' was taken from the Gothic vernacular, which evokes external qualities that do not imply censure. The verb *laikan* is attested in the sense of 'to jump' and 'to dance', but the Anglo-Saxon form, which retains its roots: *lacan*, means not only 'to jump' but also 'to swim', 'to fight', 'to modulate'; and the Norse *leika*, 'to enjoy'; 'to jump', 'the movement of the flame', etc. Middle High German *leichen* likewise encompasses the meanings of 'to jump' and 'to enjoy', and others that convey the idea of movement. The Old Irish word *loeg*, which shares the same etymology as the other words mentioned, means 'calf' in reference to the muscular activity displayed in its continuous and joyful leaps and capers.

I have little doubt that the Spanish word 'loco', which shares the same roots as the Gothic and other related terms, originally meant the same as its equivalents in other languages. Whilst dictionaries do not give it that meaning, they do define the verb 'loquear' as 'to rejoice with excessive noise and commotion'. When we say that a child is a 'loco' because he is playful, boisterous and mischievous, we are using that word in its original sense.

b) Chileanisms of Gothic origin:

It was naturally in this corner of the Americas known as Chile, a gathering place for the Goths of Spain, that the greatest number of these words from the primitive Germanic language—which they continued to use in their speech but which literary Castilian did not employ—remain.

Many of the words heard only in our country to this day—true Chileanisms with Gothic etymology—were surely brought by the conquistadors: ‘botar’ = to knock down; ‘botero’ = a bootmaker; ‘botín’; ‘bototo’; ‘futre’; ‘fija (a la)’; ‘frisca’; ‘franquear’ = to grant, ‘to lend’; ‘regodear’; ‘rudo’ = intricate, difficult; ‘rona’ = bad luck in certain games, ‘causeo’ and ‘causiar’ = a delicacy eaten at an untimely hour, and its verb; ‘vandar’ = to prowl; ‘aserse’ = entirely, completely; ‘fajar’ or ‘fajarse’ = to engage in hand-to-hand combat, to mistreat; ‘guaso’ = guacho, a word I believe originated in Chile; ‘grasar’ = to increase the devastation of a plague or calamity; ‘liudo’ = limp, weak, easily bent; ‘copar’ = to end a contest or brawl with a decisive blow, etc.

Also Gothic are the interjections ‘¡hupa!’, which we say when helping a child or another person to their feet, and the cry of enthusiasm or joy ‘¡hia!’ as well as ‘¡hopa!’ or ‘¡houpa!’ to stop someone imperiously.

Among the many Gothic customs we still retain in the countryside is that of stopping an acquaintance passing by with the phrase: ‘Hopa, mate! Where are you off to? Can’t you see I’m here?’, in a tone of playful reproach or challenge.

The invisible hero of Chilean puppets, Don Cristóbal, appears on the stage defying heaven and earth and shouting at the top of his voice: ‘I am Don Cristóbal! Hopa! Hopa! Hopa!’, crowing like a cockerel and wiggling his cap. It is a parody of the ancient custom of challenges among the Goths, just as the said custom of Chilean peasants is a muted reminiscence of the same.

I have not found that interjection documented, so it persisted, like so many other words of the same origin, only in speech, and in that very way it came down to us, and for that reason is regarded as having originated on our soil.

The puppet hero usually adds the name of his birthplace to his own, as was the custom among the Goths: ‘I am Rui Díaz, El Cid Campeador of Vivar’. The one from my region, with a booming voice, would shout: ‘I am Don Cristóbal de Colchagua, hopa!, hopa!, hopa!, hopa!’.

As you will know, Chilean puppets are wooden figures that are painted rather than carved, with scant clothing and no arms, and the stage, which represents the arena, is reduced to a curtain above which the figures appear from the waist up.

The manoeuvres and displays of skill in the handling of weapons customary among the Gothic champions who went out to challenge the bull, the parodies of Don Cristóbal menacingly pacing the curtain from end to end and twirling his formidable weapon—his head—and lunging forward with his whole body as if to pierce any enemy who might appear right through, all of which makes the parody truly comical.

Don Cristóbal is always a ruddy-faced blond man, and his enemies, whom he dispatches with a few headbutts, are always pale, black-bearded southerners. The character of the burly, feisty woman, Doña Clara, alias Mama Laucha, is also southern. This lady's refrain: 'Hipa hupa, gurupa, cuchupa, hipa, hupa', which she hums in a lilting tone with a high-pitched, shrill voice, seems to be merely one of the ways of mocking another person by playing on the sounds of what they say, a custom much used by the Goths. I recall this, as well as other scenes from our puppet shows, as an interesting chapter in Gothic folklore in Spain, but its analysis is beyond the scope of our study.

The interjection 'hopa' appears to be the first-person present indicative of the Gothic verb 'hwopan' = to boast, especially to boast of being brave or valiant, and would be equivalent to: 'I boast of defeating whoever comes forward; I challenge them to a duel'.

In Spanish, several words have remained from that origin, among which is the verb 'guapear', whose etymology is unknown in Spain, and which, according to the dictionary, means 'to display courage and bravery in the face of danger', but in Chilean Spanish it does not mean that, but rather what the Gothic term meant: to boast of being brave, of being a 'guapo'. When we say in Chilean Spanish that someone is 'guapeando', we mean that through their words and attitude they are challenging others to test their fists or their weapons, man to man.

Hopa and guapear carry the implicit meaning of 'shouting' or 'raising one's voice': one does not guapear in a low voice, nor is that interjection used except when spoken loudly. Although hwopan has only been documented in the sense of 'boasting' or 'praising oneself', it is possible that in Gothic it also had the meaning of 'raising one's voice' or 'shouting', as in the English 'whoop', meaning 'to shout' and also 'to insult loudly'. The French houpper also carries the meaning of 'to shout'. In Gothic there is a verb without aspiration, wopian, which means 'to shout', 'to invoke'.

As for 'causa', I recall that in Peru they give that name to a particular stew, but they do not use it in the general sense that we do. In Trieste and other German-speaking cities in Austria, regions once inhabited by the Goths, it is not uncommon to see in inns or hotels in the suburbs a sign bearing the word jausse, which means exactly the same as our 'causa' or 'causeo', and which indicates to the passer-by that they may come in at any time to enjoy it. They also conjugate the verb jausse. Neither the verb nor the noun belong to the literary language there; they are in the same category as ours.

The Chilean terms, and probably the Austrian ones too, are derived from the Gothic kausia, 'chosen thing', 'particularly delicate to the palate', and the verb kausian, 'to taste', 'to sample', 'to choose', words from which many others in the Romance languages derive: Provençal 'causir', Italian 'ciasire', French 'choisir', and in Castilian 'catar' and its derivatives.

I also believe that the special meanings we give in Chile to certain Spanish words arrived here with the conquistadors. For example, *listo*, which in standard Spanish means 'diligent', 'quick', 'expeditious', has among us, in addition to the dictionary meanings, a very particular one. When someone says to another: 'So-and-so is very *listo*', they accompany the phrase with an expressive gesture, raising their eyebrows, as if to say: 'Watch out, mate'. The fact is that '*listo*' among us means 'cunning', the fox, the sharp-witted scoundrel. How did that word come to have such a meaning in Chile? I believe that the Spanish nobility traditionally always retained for that word the meaning of the Gothic term from which it derives; '*lists*' in Gothic does not mean alacrity or diligence, but 'cunning', 'trickery', 'deceit'.

'To shout', 'to raise one's voice more than usual', says the dictionary. In the Chilean countryside, they call a crying child a '*gritón*'; one might think they use that word because of the raising of the voice whilst crying, but that is not the case; having grown up speaking Chilean Spanish, I know that is not the reason for the use of that word: in Chilean Spanish, '*gritón*' means 'a man who complains about pain that is not worth it, who laments or moans over trifles, even if the moans and lamentations are not in a loud voice'. *Gritón* is, therefore, equivalent to 'whiny'; that is its original meaning; the meaning given to a man who raises his voice too much is secondary. The Gothic verb *gretan*, from which the Spanish '*gritar*' derives, also means 'to complain', 'to lament', 'to weep'. The English verb 'to cry', which shares the same etymology as the Gothic, also means 'to shout' and 'to weep'. Verse by stanza came from literary Provence, as we have seen.

The Chileanisms of Gothic origin must therefore have come from Spain with the conquistadors and would be of ancient origin, for it is not possible to suppose that they formed words here taken from their original language, forgotten so many centuries earlier.

The Chileanisms that the conquistadors may have created here will be those referring to the conditions of their life in Chile or to the events in which they took part. There are in fact many of this origin:

Pellejerías = 'hardships', 'scarcity', recalling the times when skins were their clothing, skins their saddles, skins their beds and skins their books. It is known that some of the minutes of the Cabildo of Santiago were eaten by dogs. As time went on, cloth began to arrive, but there was only enough 'for those attending mass', and at banquets and meals, only those wearing fine cloth sat at the main table, leaving the young people, trusted friends and poor relatives to the leather table.

Parche = 'The leather patches on their clothes', alluding to the patches on drums, and as that task was frequent, it gave rise to the verb: *Parchar*. The few coins and gold nuggets brought to them by the Araucanian *gulchas* were kept in the skins of unborn kids, and so they staked them on the jack, because, although they were gamblers like good Germans, they never played on credit, but only for cash. It is said of Valdivia that he staked one of those kid goats—which must have been already born, for it contained 18,000 pesos of those happy times—on a sword. The dealer threw down a seven and collected the pot without Don Peiro batting an eyelid. For a long time, they made do with the skins of adult goats, and even today in the countryside, barrels are used to store and transport

aguardiente, so it is no wonder that the drink takes on a slight scent of 'chivato', the name they gave to the contents. With continued use, soaked and washed to their very fibres, those wineskins eventually lost their coppery aroma, and were thereafter regarded as 'cured', with strange odours; and so they also called their neighbours who bathed and rinsed themselves by the same method, sometimes adding—so that there would be no doubt as to the origin of that Chileanism—the phrase, also Chilean, 'Como cuero'. For the Goths, not being clad in skins was synonymous with 'being comfortable, warm, well-provided for'. To be 'skinned' meant the opposite, and on the continent they conquered, to 'skin' is to 'strip one's neighbour of his good reputation'. In Chile, they used more forceful phrases in this sense, such as: 'Sacar el pellejo', 'sacar el cuero'. A terrible threat from an enraged Visigoth was that of: 'I'll give you a piece of my mind.'

In Chile, we use certain words which, although they still appear in dictionaries, are no longer used anywhere today, such as, for example, *fajina* in the sense of 'a cheerful tune used to wake the troops at dawn in the barracks', and, by extension, 'that which brings joy', such as the music played in a ranch. Spanish etymologists don't even remember that Castilian term. They probably believe it is merely an eccentric use of the other word '*fajina*', which comes from the Latin '*fascina*', meaning a bundle (of branches); but this is not the case: '*fajina*' is a word of Gothic origin meaning 'joy', just as '*fajinón*' means 'to cheer up' or 'to be cheerful'.

It may also be noted that in Chilean Spanish we prefer to use Castilian words of Germanic origin rather than their synonyms of Latin origin: '*aguantar*', '*aguaitar*', '*guantada*', '*ganar*', '*maraña*', '*matrero*', '*gresca*', '*pata*', '*trebejo*', '*zalagarda*', '*votar*' in the sense of 'to vote', etc.

With this word '*votar*', Spanish etymologists face the same situation as with '*fajina*' and several others in the same category, namely that they have homonyms—words with the same form but completely different meanings and origins. It seems they consider the form more important than the idea expressed by the words. In Spanish, there are two words '*voto*', as in 'vow of chastity', 'vow of poverty', etc., and the adjective 'votive'. There is no simple verb to express that action. The verb *votar*, 'to record one's view or opinion by means of ballot papers or otherwise', and the noun *voto*, its cognate, have no ideological connection with the former; they are different words. What might be the etymology of the latter? In Gothic, there is a series of words meaning 'opinion', 'testimony', 'view', etc., which share the same root as '*voto*', albeit expanded – a very common occurrence in linguistics. Thus: *vitwodi* = 'testimony', *vitwozs* = 'assertion', *vitwodian* = 'to testify', and several others, also written with an initial *w*. I leave the question unanswered. Linguistics is not a mathematical science, so in these matters there is room for differing views, which I do not discuss due to a lack of time, space and authority.

a) The d in archaic Spanish:

The Marquis Don Enrique de Villena, known as the Necromancer, wrote in 1433 in his **Arte de Trobar**:

‘The ochava. How some letters are written but not pronounced, and others are pronounced even though they are not written.’

And referring to the weak sound of the d, he adds later:

“And because the D, when it comes close to a following O, sounds weakly, adding a G as if to say ‘portado’, ‘portadgo’, ‘infantado’, ‘infantadgo’ and then the D is heard”.

Writers employed various stratagems to Latinise the phonetics of early Castilian, but the illiterate will continue to say ‘portao’, ‘infantao’.

In the well-known Dialogue of the Languages, written during the reign of Charles V and attributed to Juan Valdés, the following passage appears regarding this very letter:

“Marcio.—Why is it that among you some sometimes add a ‘d’ at the end of the second-person imperatives, whilst others always omit it, writing at times ‘tomá’ and at others ‘tomad’; ‘comprá’ and ‘comprad’; some ‘comé’ and others ‘comed’?”

Valdés: ‘I would ask those who do not add it to ask the reason, for I, who do add it, will gladly give it to you.’

Mayans wrote in 1737 in his work *Orígenes de la lengua española*:

‘The removal of the final “d”, as in “ad”, “volá”, “leé”, “oi”, through the figure of apocope, instead of “volad”, “leed”, “oid”, is very common among those who love elegance; and particularly among poets, masters of the sweetness of speech.’

In modern Spanish, that *d* is only omitted from imperatives when they take the enclitic ‘*os*’: ‘*amaos*’, ‘*temeos*’, with the exception of ‘*idos*’, as Bello points out.

b) Documentary evidence:

There is countless documentary evidence of the omission of that consonant in various positions in ancient writings.

El Cid was heading for Burgos, where the men and women of Burgos waited, leaning out of their windows to watch the hero pass by, whom the poet describes as a handsome, manly figure; but as the Campeador was surrounded by his men, in accordance with Gothic custom, the poet exclaims, addressing them: ‘*Exien lo ver mugieres e varones*’. In this sentence, in addition to the apheresis of the ‘*d*’ in ‘*dejen*’, note the active construction of the sentence, despite its passive meaning. Translated into modern Spanish, it would read: ‘Let him be seen by women and men, or let them see him’, etc. That syntax of the 12th- or 13th-century poet is to this day quite common among us, and only among us, which is why that verse from El Cid has not been understood by some authors:

‘Between Rachel and Vidas, apart, they went their separate ways’.

El Cid, verse 191.

‘*Yxieron*’ – they said.

Several authors conjugated the verb ‘to greet’ without a ‘*d*’:

“They greeted her reverently as was proper.”

Marqués de Santillana.

“I greet King Antiochus and the royal court.”

Libro de Apolonio, stanza 19, from the late 12th or early 13th century.

Likewise the verb ‘to worship’:

“In all that is born!

I know not if I have seen anything:

I will go and worship it

and I will pray and beseech”—

Mystery of the Magi, 13th century.

In that very same composition, that verb appears in many places without its d, but in others it appears with it:

‘So go and seek,

and worship him.

and return this way

I shall go there

and worship him too.

Let’s go on a pilgrimage

to worship that king.

The inflection ‘imos’—‘we are going’, as well as the syncopated form ‘pus’—‘well’, were lost in 15th-century Spanish writing, but the conquistadors brought them to us in spoken form, writing ‘imos’ for ‘fuimos’:

‘The wine turns to blood, the offering to flesh. The family prostrates itself on the ground before them.’

Gonzalo de Berceo, 13th century.

In works written from the 12th to the 14th century, one can find, without the ‘d’, ‘esmaid’, ‘espedirse’, ‘espartar’, ‘estajo’, ‘entro’ (the adverb ‘dentro’), ‘esperdecir’, ‘erecho’, etc., etc.

In Juan Ruiz, the Archpriest of Hita—the name by which this celebrated 14th-century author is best known—is the only author in whom I have found ‘onde’ instead of ‘donde’: ‘Onde mayores peligros espera que han de ser’.

In Chilean Spanish there are two adverbs of the same form, but with very different meanings. In Provençal and Portuguese there is an ‘onde’ similar to ours, but the one that is entirely identical to that used in Chile is the one frequently found in Italian authors of the 13th and 14th centuries, e.g.:

‘When I felt, as if by some force,

The mountain trembled: whereupon a chill seized me

Such as usually seizes him who goes to his death.”

Dante, Purgatorio, Canto XX.

I do not possess a Spanish translation of the Divine Comedy, but that ‘onde’ must be rendered by some adverbial or complementary phrase. Taking into account the preceding stanza, that triplet could be translated as follows: ‘Then I felt the mountain tremble as if something were collapsing, whereupon a chill took hold of me’, etc. There is no equivalent adverb or other word in Spanish, so it must necessarily be translated as a phrase.

In Chilean Spanish it would be something like: ‘So then, I heard the mountain tremble as if it were falling: whereupon a chill seized me’, etc. ‘Onde’ introduces a consequence, signalled in the text by the colon, saving a phrase and lending greater conciseness and energy to the discourse in Chilean Spanish and Italian than in Spanish. This adverb, much used by the classical writers of Italy, is now being used again by the literati of that country.

‘To’ instead of ‘todo’ is often used on the Peninsula in prose and verse:

“The eighth is: thou shalt not bear false witness. In this sin does he who, by his word, causes another to lose what he has, and every man who tells a lie”...

From the Ten Commandments, 13th century.

‘The trial shall be lengthy, for it concerns the whole council.’

López de Ayala, 13th century.

“He ordered all his noble sons to ride swiftly.”

El Cid, v. 1832.

A proofreader later added two t's above 'tos' in Pidal's manuscript.

I have already reminded you that writers used to write t instead of d at the end of words to ensure it was pronounced:

“Now that the first has been declared,

It is noted,

That in divinity

Is true love”.

Said Moxica.

There are so many examples that could be cited of the omission of the 'd' and even of syllables in which it occurs in ancient Castilian writings, that I believe it should be omitted from those verses where it suits their exact metre.

Thus I believe that Juan Ruiz pronounced 'Malena' as we do, though he wrote 'Magdalena', for being, as he was, an accomplished versifier, he made an eight-syllable verse of 'Santa María Magdalena', which has nine. The Archpriest measured by ear and wrote according to his literary knowledge, like my countryman, the teacher.

You see that however great our voracity may be, as they say, regarding that consonant, we have been unable to exercise it because our forebears had already devoured it from many words that contained it, and thus, stripped of it, they passed them on to us. Those who accuse us of this fault have not studied the matter sufficiently.

c) Use of the 'd' in Chilean Spanish:

We Chileans never articulate the d with explosive force, as that consonant is soft in Castilian Spanish. In Chilean Spanish it is even softer, but we pronounce it correctly and with the required lingual-dental articulation.

1.º After n, r, l, s, whether they belong to the same word or the previous one, and after a sibilant or aspirated s: 'amando', 'lerdo', 'caldo', 'ehde', 'on Damián', 'color de oro', 'sol de otoño', 'meh d'enero'.

2.º Before a diphthong: 'día', 'duende', 'media'.

3.º After a diphthong and before a vowel: 'cuidar', 'leído', 'auditorio'. Without an adjacent 'i': 'siudá' or 'siudá', 'viúa' or 'viúda', if the stress falls on the first vowel of the diphthong, the d is pronounced: 'deuda'; if it falls on the second, it is usually omitted: 'mico', 'ruca'.

In all other positions, the d is very soft or absent. Note the general tendency not to omit more than one d in the same word: 'deo', 'dorado'.

The four consonants that make the pronunciation of the d obligatory in Chilean Spanish are the same as those preceding it in Gothic, and I believe that it is to this phonetic origin that Castilian owes the fact that this is also the position in which that consonant sounds most distinctly.

8.-

a) The value of the s:

The 's' is another of the Castilian letters that we omit in many pronunciations, replacing it, whenever this occurs, with an aspiration—or rather an exhalation—produced by the chest without being modified by the vocal organs.

I consider erroneous the view that the aspiration of the h—which, they say, was the only one Spanish had until the 16th century, when the h ceased to have any value—stems from Arabic influence, which might give rise to the belief that the aspirations of the Chilean dialect have the same origin.

The Arabic language had not the slightest influence on the formation of the Romance language, Castilian, which was already fully formed when the Arabs arrived in Spain, and which continued to develop entirely free from Moorish influence. It is only the Castilian vocabulary that owes it certain words, and to that its influence is reduced. The Dutchman Dozy and the Spaniard Covarrubias are the main culprits of this error, just as Larramendi is responsible for the belief in the influence of Basque, a language from which there are many words in Castilian, but nothing more.

b) The 's' in Latin:

Something similar happened with the 's' as with the 'd' during the period when Castilian was forming.

In Latin, the 's' was generally a soft sound, sometimes imperceptible to the ear, and so it even disappeared from grammar. The sibilant lingual-dental value of this sound only survived at the beginning of a word, or in the middle if accompanied by another consonant.

But even in those positions, its place was not assured. If, at the beginning of a word, it was followed by another consonant of strong articulation, the 's' was omitted from speech: 'tego'—I cover, I save—from 'stego', 'sparco'; Rome was originally called 'Sroma'. In the middle of a word, for it to retain its sound, it was necessary that it not be followed by m, n, l, r, d, for if this happened, that consonant was not pronounced, and so it was also lost in the spelling of many words. The same occurred at the end of a word, and it was lost in the spelling of some words, until Latin etymologists revived it: 'Mino' for minus, 'locu' for locus, 'interdiu' for interdius, etc.

c) The s in Gothic:

I have already noted that only one important document remains from Gothic, so it is not possible to trace the changes that language underwent, but only by comparing it with another from the same family. But in that text it can already be seen that the final 's' had an insignificant value, and that perhaps it was not even pronounced, since it was very often omitted. Wulfila himself forgot to include it, or did not include it because its omission did not alter the meaning of the word; it was a letter that was not needed. Most nouns ending in s are found, in the singular, without it, remaining only in the plural. Even foreign names, such as Satan, which in Greek and Latin have the same form as in Spanish, are written Sataná in Wulfila.

Whilst there are no Gothic writings from later centuries, save for a few short inscriptions, there do exist texts in a language very similar to Gothic—especially in its vocabulary and morphology—namely Old South German or High Old German, as it is called. There are writings in that language dating back to the 13th century, the time of the Arab invasion of Spain. Now, the words in that German which correspond to the Gothic words ending in s are written without that final letter: Gothic: 'dags' – day; Old High German: 'gasts' – guest, al-an-al; 'gast': 'mans' = man, al-an-al. 'man'; Old High German 'fisk' = fish, al-an-al. 'fiisc'; Old High German 'maths' = night, Old High German 'math'; Old High German 'riks' = rich, prince, Old High German 'riks', etc.

In view of this background, one might ask whether the Goths of Wulfila's time pronounced that final consonant, which the bishop himself often omitted in writing. Does this fact not indicate that the final 's', previously fully pronounced, was beginning to be lost from the spoken language? Did the Suevi, the Alans and the Vandals—tribes that remained in the same Germanic region where the 's' appears systematically omitted from the ends of words in the earliest surviving documents of that region's language—pronounce that final letter?

Alongside the Visigoths and Ostrogoths were some Suebi families, and with the Visigoths, the majority of the numerous Alani tribe remained in the Kingdom of Toulouse. The Suevi and the Vandals were the pioneers of Romance in Spain, a country they inhabited for over a century before the Visigoths and Alani arrived to settle there with their families. It was in Andalusia that one of the tribes, coming directly from Upper Ancient Germany, settled without mixing with other Gothic tribes, and it is in Andalusia where, to this day, they pronounce the final 's' and the 's' preceding a consonant as aspirated, just as we do.

Among the consonants that become aspirated, philologists include the 's', and they bear this very much in mind in their research into etymologies. Many Latin words begin with 's', whereas their Greek equivalents begin with 'h' or a harsh aspirated sound: Latin 'sex', Greek 'hex'; 'super', Greek 'huper'; Italian 'somnus', Greek 'hypnos'; Italian 'sudor', Greek 'hudor'; Italian 'septem', Greek 'hepta', etc.

I would therefore venture to suggest that this consonant underwent a transformation in Gothic phonetics that led to a softening of its articulation, turning it into an aspirated sound which, having no specific symbol to represent it in writing, was also omitted in the spelling of many words.

d) The s in Spanish:

Just as happened with the d in the source languages, so too did the s undergo a change in the formation of Spanish words: it was definitively lost in the new words derived from the old ones that contained it. From the ends of the original words, almost all of them disappeared, leaving Spanish, like the other Romance languages, without words ending in s in the singular, with few exceptions, whereas in Latin and Gothic they were numerous.

There is one of the metamorphoses undergone by the Latin 's' in its transition to Spanish that is particularly noteworthy: its transformation into a voiceless 'j', e.g., 'petroselinon' became 'perejil', 'tonsoria' became 'tijera', 'passero' became 'pájaro', 'vesica' became 'vejiga', etc. There are highly debatable theories regarding this transformation of the 's' and its pronunciation, as well as that of the letters with which it was often replaced, but this is a matter that does not belong here.

Just as the long series of Latin words ending in 'us' and 'is' appeared ending in a vowel, so too did they Romanise their own words: from 'fotus' = foot, they derived 'bota', 'bototo', etc.; from 'hugrus' = hunger, the hungry monster, ogre; from 'wigs', footprint; from 'hilms', helmet; from 'klots', lot; from 'tenks', nail, etc.

Personal names such as Roderiks and Thiundariks, which appear in Middle and Late Latin texts ending in -us (e.g. Rodericus, Teodoricus), were Latinised by writers in the same way as all barbarian words; it is likely, given what has been said above, that they acquired their Romance form without the final -s directly, without taking into account the way the Romans wrote them. There are some names such as Totila, Atanajildo, the Gothic king

of Spain, father of Brinhilda, one of the heroines of the Nibelungen and the Eddas, which, I believe, passed directly into their Castilian forms from the Gothic Totilas and Athanahilds. It is also believed that the name of the famous Gothic bishop should be written Wulfilas.

But we, like the Andalusians and southern Castilians, turn many of the 's' sounds that eluded the 'corruptors' of those languages in their task of creating an intermediary form into aspirated sounds. Is it that we continue to do this in obedience to an inherited organic condition of our vocal apparatus? Or is it that the scribes who transcribed the spoken word of the Goths of Spain into writing included more 's' sounds than they actually pronounced?

The answer to the first question is that the affirmative is logical. As for the second, there is ample evidence to support this.

The omissions of this letter are more common at the ends of words in archaic Spanish; but they also occur in the middle of a word when it is at the end of a syllable. In the latter case, it is certain that the value of the s was greatly weakened and probably reduced to a Chilean-style aspiration. In the aforementioned *Arte de Trobar*, Villena says, discussing the sound of the s:

'And when the Y meets the S, it sounds faint; and that is why they help it with the consonance of the X in the middle, just as when saying "misto", they say "mixto". The E is in the same situation; and so, when saying "testo", they say "texto".'

Although one might criticise the marquis's reasoning, the fact he points out is indisputable.

Because it was barely audible, early writers sometimes omitted it; or if they heard it as an aspirated sound, they had no symbol with which to represent it and left it out. Thus, in *El Cid* and other writings of that time, we find 'vo' for 'vos'; 'fata' for 'fasta', which was how they used to write it; 'deque' for 'desque', a contraction of 'desde que', which to this day is used only by Chileans.

Our adverb *queque*, which no longer appears in any dictionary, not even those of Chileanisms, is also found without its s or h in the middle:

'Queque la vi fuera del uerto

I was nearly killed".

Romance of Lope de Moros, 13th century.

There are many examples of the omission of the final 's'. The manuscript of *El Cid*, cited above, was transcribed—as is widely believed—from the scribe's memory or from the recitation of some troubadour onto the paper on which it is found. In that manuscript, the copyist omitted a large number of final 's's from the ends of words. It seems that the same scribe, realising his mistake later, or another with a similar hand, was correcting the errors and writing 's's' above the last letter of the corresponding word, as there was no space below them. Many were still missing, so in later times other scribes, with a different hand and quality of ink, have taken it upon themselves to add some. Despite so many correctors, several are still missing, and, what is more noteworthy, some have been added where they were not needed. To me, this has no more satisfactory explanation than that these correctors relied on their own uncertain literary knowledge.

I repeat to you, sir, what I said regarding the d: those who reproach us for the aspirated s, believing it to be a corruption of our own making and a sign of a lack of understanding, have not studied that point properly either.

The lingual-dental 's', 'c' and 'z' are reduced in Chilean to 's' and 'h'. In the Venetian dialect, only the 's' exists as a representative of the three sounds. It is well known that more or less the same thing occurs in Castilian Spanish everywhere, apart from certain provinces of Spain, despite the efforts of the Academicians.

e) The 's' in Chilean Spanish:

In Chilean Spanish, the sibilant pronunciation of 's' is mandatory:

1.º After l, n, r: 'insulso', 'terso';

2.º Before a diphthong: 'siete', 'suerte';

3.º After a diphthong, followed by a vowel: 'ausilio', 'meisal'.

In all other cases, it is more or less aspirated, with the rule being that it is aspirated in reverse combinations, i.e. at the end of a syllable or word.

The letters i and u facilitate the pronunciation of the sibilant s.

9.-

a) The aspirated h in Spanish and Chilean Spanish:

A Chilean author states that there is no doubt that this aspiration of the Castilian 's' stems from the influence of Chile's indigenous language, and that this aspiration is unique to our country. In Spain, they immediately recognise an Andalusian by this aspiration, which they also believe to be unique to the inhabitants of the former home of the Vandals on the Peninsula.

The Araucanian language has had very little influence on Chilean phonetics, if any at all.

It is true that Chilean Spanish does not possess the perfect sound of the sibilant 's', nor that of Castilian Spanish, or at least such sounds are very rare in that language; but neither does it possess aspirations of any kind, which would not explain the change of 's' to 'h'.

The aspirated sounds of Old Castilian, like those of Chilean Spanish, are due to the phonetics of the Goths, whose language was full of aspirated sounds of all kinds, and in which many words likewise ended in an aspirated sound: 'noh' = still, 'hlahían' = to laugh, 'iah' = i, 'hobis' = higher, 'sehsta' = siesta, in Chilean 'schta' or 'hehta', etc.

In the peninsular writings of the early literary centuries, many words with h are found, such as 'hir' for 'ir', 'hoir' for 'oir', 'hi' for 'allí', 'huno', 'traher', 'handar', etc., times when the h stood for a forceful aspirated sound, which gradually weakened until it disappeared from the speech of the educated classes in the 16th century.

'The lung, with its aspiration, forms the H'; 'The H is suited to this sound, saying "handad"; but the H has this peculiarity, that it cannot be placed except at the beginning of a word, and is still fully voiced', wrote Villena in his *Arte de Trobar*, which, as

I recalled, dates from the early 15th century. This phrase 'it is still a full-sounding letter' indicates that the astute Nigromántico had noticed its tendency to disappear.

In the following century, the h was silent in certain words: '... some placing it in "hera", "había" and "han", and others of this sort; but this is done by those who pride themselves on being Latinists; and I, who would rather be one than merely boast of it, do not use the h, for when reading I do not pronounce it'. Valdés's reply to one of his interlocutors in the Dialogue on Languages.

Despite this author's opinion, the aspiration of the 'h' persisted throughout that century in some words, and certainly in the speech of the Goths. Christoval de las Casas, in his Vocabulario toscano castellano, wrote in 1582:

"The 'h' serves its purpose among us just as it does in Tuscan; in some words its aspiration sounds stronger, especially in those derived from Latin that have an 'h' instead of an 'f', such as 'harina', 'hervir', in Latin 'farina', 'fervere'."

The word 'especially' used by this author indicates that it was not only the h's derived from the Latin f that retained their value. In the 17th century, aspiration was definitively lost on the Iberian Peninsula, with the exception of Andalusia. The loss of aspiration in Romance languages may have been influenced by Latin, which centuries earlier had abandoned its own primitive aspirated sounds.

b) Influence of the Araucanian language (Chilidugu) on Chilean Spanish:

We have taken many words from Araucanian, but I believe its influence on our pronunciation is very limited.

The sound of the ll, which from Mataquito southwards is that of Castilian and Araucanian, quite different from the y with which it is replaced in the rest of Chile, may be due to indigenous influence.

A century before the discovery of America, the 'll' began to be pronounced in Spain with the sound it has today. In earlier times, it sounded like the 'l' or 'l-l', which is why it was written with one 'l' or two: 'el', 'ela', 'maravila', 'estrela', 'vila', 'ali', 'cabalo', etc.; and infinitives with an enclitic article: 'amal-lo', 'tenel-lo', 'cubril-la'. Among the educated classes in the 15th and 16th centuries, many words must still have been pronounced with the 'll' as in earlier times, especially proper names, which are the most resistant to change; thus, the name of the author of *La Araucana* is found written as *Ercilla* or *Ercila*, interchangeably. Although infinitives with an enclitic are always written with 'll' in that century, their pronunciation would have retained the archaic form among the conquistadors, as that is the current pronunciation in Chilean Spanish: 'amal-lo', etc. The weakening of the vibration of the 'r' before 'l' is the rule in Latin phonology. The sound of the Castilian ll, which is also found in Italian (gl) and Portuguese (lh), did not exist in Latin, but it did in Gothic, I believe, (lj + vowel), although it had no special symbol nor was it a distinct letter, but rather resulted from the

pronunciation of the l followed by a consonantal i and another vowel. The profusion of this letter in Castilian is due in most cases to the influence of orthography.

Another Araucanian influence on Chilean Spanish may be the pronunciation of 'tr', which is very different from Castilian and specific to Chile. However, to settle this point, one would need to know how the Goths pronounced that combination of consonants. The English, whose phonetics are largely inherited from the Anglo-Saxons, often pronounce it as we do. It is not too far-fetched, I believe, to suppose that the Goths pronounced their word 'triu' = tree, just as in English 'true' = truth; that is to say, like our 'trigo'.

The loss of the vibration of the r before n in Chilean Spanish, as in 'carne' and 'perno', which sound more like 'canne' and 'penno', I do not know if this is due to indigenous influence. In Araucanian there is a soft r and a vibrating r.

Some believe that the Araucanian language has given us some of the 'ñ's that we add to Spanish words which do not currently have them, such as 'ñudo' and 'niebla', because the indigenous language makes extensive use of that sound. In archaic Spanish, particularly in the Asturian dialect, those words were written with an 'n'.

Nor is the truly agglutinative form, characteristic of the indigenous language, which we apply to some compound words—such as 'demen' instead of 'denme'. In Araucanian, this is the standard way of adding modifying particles to the verb; they are placed neither at the beginning nor the end of the verb form but in the middle of it, encompassing them, agglutinating them. Thus they say 'elun' = I give, and to express the negation of that verb, they place the negative particle 'la' between the 'u' and the 'n' of 'elun', and say 'elulan' = I do not give, as we do in 'demen'. In archaic Spanish, forms similar to ours are very common: 'amalde', 'dalde', 'levaldas', etc., for 'amadle', 'dadle', 'llevadlas', etc. Simple metathesis to facilitate pronunciation:

'Tenendos a derecho, por amor del criador',

El Cid, v. 3580.

'Tenendos' = tenednos.

10.-

a) The l and the r in Chilean Spanish and Castilian:

We say 'trato' or 'trato', 'sordao', 'cabresto', 'pelra', 'cárculo', etc., instead of 'trato', 'soldado', 'cabestro', 'perla', 'cálculo', etc., failing to give the l and the r their proper place and confusing these consonants with one another, because they were used in such an uncertain and interchanged manner by the Spaniards who taught us to speak.

Those letters l and r, semi-vowels or liquids, also appear in such an uncertain and altered state in various ancient languages.

In the days when Castilian was taking shape, a time of trial and error for people lacking literary cultivation, those consonants must have been quite out of their places, for when the Spaniards began to fix the Romance words through writing, they found many of those letters in a very different place from the one they had in the parent languages; others did not appear anywhere or had left their companion, replacing it, and so they have remained to this day; others from the Latin alter, 'bear' from ursus, 'miracle' from miraculum, 'crocodile' from crocodilus, 'tree' from arbor, 'marble', 'mole' from talpa, 'crust' from crusta, 'tune' from cantilena, 'danger' from periculum, 'spur' from the Gothic sporon, the word from the Latin parabola, etc., etc.

I believe that in no language is this peculiarity as striking as in the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula. Even in the Castilianisation of relatively modern foreign words, the same phenomenon can be observed: 'corbata' (tie), from the French cravate, 'Argelia' (Algeria) from Algérie, etc.

As the pronunciation of these consonants is easy in Castilian and they were very common in Gothic as well as in Latin, and their loss or permutation does not affect the meaning of the word, it is reasonable to assume that such uncertainty stems from some functional condition of the auditory organ of the creators of Castilian.

b) Documentary evidence:

In the works of early writers, it can be seen that many of these unstable consonants did not occupy the position they hold in the language today:

'Cazurros et de bulras, no cabrian en dies priegos'.

Hita, stanza 1488. Sánchez Collection.

“The flayre replied that they would not be forgiven.”

Ibid., stanza 1103, *ibid.*

In addition to ‘flayre’, note in this verse the ‘quel non’, which in the Archpriest’s time was written ‘quel nol’ as we say today, ‘nol’ being a contraction of ‘no le’, so that the great 14th-century writer caused an ‘l’ to jump from one word to another. It is true that such a shift is unusual:

‘Everyone fears me,

they regard me as a native,

I greet him if it is Don Yohan,

Who always wished me ill’.

These words were spoken

Maidens in their songs,

The minstrels played

By the Huelgas, the minstrels.

Stanzas 229 and 406. Poem by Alfonso Sánchez.

‘Siemple’ = always, ‘estormentos’ = ‘instruments’, ‘jograles’ = minstrels.

In Juan Ruiz and other authors of his time, the following terms are found: ‘templano’, ‘empreo’, ‘fraco’, ‘perlado’, ‘Melrín’, ‘somblero’, ‘nobre’, ‘niebra’, ‘plado’, ‘probe’, ‘blavo’, ‘caustro’ = cloister, etc., etc.

The Galicians have continued to this day to say: ‘prácido’, ‘pola’ = por la, like us, ‘bulra’, ‘pelra’, ‘cabral’ = to nail, ‘probe’ = poor, etc.

It is therefore our birthright to say: ‘catreal’, ‘arfarfa’, ‘pelcha’, ‘bulra’. If we drop an r in ‘azuca’, we add it to ‘bruñuelo’, and that’s that.

11.-

a) Regarding the consonant clusters pt, ps, kt, ks in Gothic:

‘The changes undergone by the consonant clusters pt, ps, kt, ks (k = c before a consonant and a, o, u), which, despite being contrary to the laws of development in Castilian, exist in this language due to the influence of the humanists’, says A. Echeverría y Reyes quite rightly in his work *Voces usadas en Chile*, referring to the ways in which Chileans euphonised these clusters:

Contrary to the laws of Castilian development, one could also say that they are contrary to those of Portuguese, Provençal, Italian and Galician, which do not use them to this day.

Indeed, such consonant clusters appear in ancient Castilian writings only very rarely and under the evident influence of the author’s Latin culture, and one can trace step by step in Castilian literature the role of the humanists in the restoration of those Latin combinations.

When the first Castilian documents appeared, the language had already been in common use for several centuries, during which the Latin words containing such groups were pronounced differently from how the Romans and Iberians had pronounced them; it is therefore likely that this change was due to the phonetics of the Gothic language. This was indeed the case. The language of the Goths contained, in all that remains documented of it, not a single word in which any of the combinations mentioned by Echeverría occurred. The Gothic language was very soft, despite the clusters of consonants that appear in some of its words, because those clusters generally represent a single sound; the articulation of the Latin clusters in question must have been very difficult for the Goths, which is why they omitted or altered them in the Latin words they adopted.

As the Iberians had been speaking the language of Rome for some five hundred years or more before the arrival of the Germanic peoples in Spain, it is certain that for them these clusters would no longer have presented any vocal difficulties—if indeed they ever had—and their loss in Romance must therefore be attributed to the exclusive vocalisation of the Goths, which is likewise further proof that they were the principal creators of Romance.

b) Regarding these in Castilian:

What happened to these groups was the same as what had happened to the d, the s and the semivowels of Latin; that is to say, many Latin words remained in Castilian that are eloquent testimony to that organic vocal difficulty of the Goths. In some cases, one can observe the loss

of the first consonant, which was the most common procedure: 'matar' from macture, 'siete' from septem, 'seis' from sex, 'junto' from junctus; in others, it became a single sound: 'hecho' from factum, 'pecho' from pectus, 'tasar' from taxare, 'legía' from lixivía; both lost: 'week' from septimana, 'comb' from pecten; the first changed to i: 'deleitar' from delectare, 'afeitar' from affectare; with a 'u': 'cautivo' from captivus, 'bautismo' from baptismus; lost or altered in various ways: 'belt' from pectorina (in which a significant shift of the r can be seen), 'ash tree' from fraxinus, 'to collect' from recaptare, 'lesion', as it was formerly called (probably influenced by the Gothic lesins), from lexio, 'autumn' from auctutummus, etc., etc. All these Latin words, with their harsh and difficult pronunciation, were altered in the Romance languages created by the Goths, and the Spaniards, having become accustomed to them, had to accept the speech of their lords. The same occurred in the original homeland of Latin, in Italy itself, where they remain to this day as they were modified, without the humanists there having restored them to their original form: 'petto' = chest, 'lettura' = reading, 'efetto' = effect, 'battesimo' = baptism, 'esame' = examination, 'sette' = seven, 'ricezione' = reception, etc.

In this softening of Latin words, I do not know what part the indigenous languages of Italy and Spain, which predated the use of Latin, may have played. Euscaro is not a soft language, and Etruscan, according to Mommsen, was full of the 'roughest and harshest sounds'.

In Old Literary Galician, one notes the writers' tendency towards Latinisation, but the euphonicisation through the diphthongs ei/eu is evident; these are so common in that language and are one of the distinguishing features of its phonetics compared to that of Castilian. In Vulgar Galician, which has survived to the present day, these consonant clusters are resolved either by dropping the first consonant, as in 'sedutor', 'vitoria'; or by changing it to a 'u'; 'direuto', 'caraute', 'conseución', etc. This is the same euphonic adaptation used in Andalusia to this day.

In the works of writers from the 14th century onwards, many words are found in their Latin form, but it is clear that their authors did not pronounce the first consonant. Thus Santillana confuses 'escriptas' with 'fictas', and one can see in the works of his century that the following were written interchangeably: 'perfecto', 'perfection', 'perfeto', 'perfett', and a similar indecision in the spelling of similar words. Ercilla wrote: 'vitoria', 'acetar', 'perfeto', 'plático' = 'práctico', etc. The same can be seen in all the chroniclers and historians of Chile from the 16th and 17th centuries and even later.

c) Regarding the gn group:

To the groups of consonants noted by Echeverría, we must add the 'gn' group, which is in the same situation as those: very common in Latin, completely absent in Gothic. In Italian it was pronounced as 'ñ', in Galician the 'g' became a 'u', and in Castilian the first consonant was dropped, a practice sometimes adopted from Galician: in Old Castilian it was pronounced 'mano', in Italian to this day 'maño' (written 'magnò'), and in Galician 'mauno' = 'magnò' in modern Spanish, from the Latin 'magnus'.

In Spanish writing, anyone who wishes to may notice the gradual return to the Latin form of Castilian, but one must not forget that pronunciation lagged behind the spelling reform.

The Marquis of Villena stated in his aforementioned work:

‘And those letters which are written but not pronounced, as is common usage, add something to the understanding and meaning of the word in which they are placed. Examples include: “magnífico”, “sancto”, “doctrina”, “signo”.’

Note that he did not follow that ‘common usage’, as he wrote ‘sinificación’ and ‘dición’ (15th century).

In the 16th century, Valdés wrote in the Dialogue of Languages:

“When I write for Castilians and amongst Castilians, I always omit the g, and say sinificar rather than significar; manífico rather than magnífico; dino rather than digno; and I say that I omit it because I do not pronounce it.”

In the last quarter of that same century (1578), Don Antonio Agustín, in a letter to Zurita, wrote:

“In orthographies, Your Excellency will do as you are told; it seems wrong to me that one should write one way and speak another, as in the French language; and since no one says ‘scripto’, nor ‘docto’, nor ‘sciencia’, nor ‘presumpcion’, there is no reason to write them that way.”

Despite his scruples, Don Antonio wrote ‘orthographía’.

In 1733, Mayans y Siscar, commenting on the passage quoted from Valdés, added:

“Today, instead of ‘sinificar’, ‘manífico’ and ‘dino’, we say and write ‘significar’, ‘magnífico’ and ‘digno’. The three Castilian words come from three Latin ones: ‘significo’, ‘magnificus’ and ‘dignus’, which contain a g; the pronunciation with this final letter is fuller and more resonant than without it.”

Mayans' reasons are those that Castilian writers have taken into account in their work to transform their language: to bring it closer to Latin and give it resonance. They have succeeded, and that is the essential difference between Castilian speech and Chilean speech.

It is not we who have adulterated or corrupted the peninsular language, but rather it is the language itself that has changed, moving away from the phonetics and syntax of the Germanic language and drawing closer to that spoken before the arrival of the Goths, whilst the Teutonic character has gradually been absorbed by the Iberians, or has migrated from its homeland.

d) Euphonicisation of these groups in Chilean Spanish:

The euphonisation of the Neo-Castilian or Latin groups pt, ps, kt, ks, gn in Chilean Spanish draws on the two main branches into which the peninsular Romance language was divided: Castilian and Galician. Deletion of the first consonant: 'resetor', 'eclipse', 'dotor', 'condusion', 'indino'; conversion of the same to u: 'preseutor', 'cáusula', 'efeuto', 'leusión', 'mauno'. It is very rare for the initial consonant to change to i, as in 'direisión', or to be lost without replacement, as in 'lisón', forms which tend to alternate with the former.

It is strange that educated Chileans laugh at their uneducated countrymen because the latter say 'séutimo', whereas the former say 'sauta', which has the same etymology; if the uneducated say 'eleusiones', the educated say 'Eleuterio'; if the former say 'auto' everywhere, the latter say the same in the courts. The fact is, it is easier to laugh at things than to study them, but with people it is not always the same, and if unjust mockery is directed at a brother, that mockery is like a spit flung into the sky.

12.-

a) Traces of Galician in Chilean Spanish:

Not only do we have that particular euphonicisation of Galician in our language, but also some words in the Galician form such as 'laranja', 'launa', the omission of the final 'n' in nouns ending in 'en' such as 'imaje', 'eusame', 'virje', etc. It is also Galician

the 'ti' that is often heard in place of 'vos', as well as the 'miña' used with women's names: 'miña Juanita'. Galician uses 'ti' for 'tú', just as in the Venetian dialect. That 'miña' is the first-person feminine possessive of the Gothic 'mina'.

The last two words, ti and miña, are only heard from the mouths of country women. Knowing that the educated do not use 'vos', they substitute it for 'ti', which has been passed down orally in Chile; for the same reason, they tend to say 'tis' with a sibilant 's', as they know that the omission of this consonant is one of the criticisms levelled at the speech of the common people. This usage is, therefore, an 'ultra-correction', as Echeverría calls those misguided corrections—such as 'adre' for 'aire', 'racto' for 'rpto', etc.—which are not Chileanisms, which the genuine 'roto' never uses, and which are more moral or mental manifestations than vocal or linguistic ones. That is why they are heard from women's lips: it is the eternal feminine spirit, a lover of form, which reveals itself in this in all its intellectual manifestations. It is women who take care with the pronunciation of their language in every country in the world.

I am convinced that it was not only the Suevi and the Vandals for whom the Latin consonant clusters in question were unpronounceable, but that they were equally so for all the Goths. In addition to the highly telling fact that not a single word using them existed in their entire language, my research into Chilean phonetics has led me to the same conclusion.

If one approaches illiterate peasants, those living far from towns, the guasos to use a term of Gothic origin, especially the tall blond men who show a strong Germanic streak, and asks them to pronounce, for example, the word 'perfecto', they set about the task with a smile, well aware of its difficulties, and begin by saying 'prefeuto' in various tones and making strange faces; then they manage to say 'perfeito' with the Portuguese diphthong, or by emphasising the 't' heavily, 'perffeto', like the Italians, or 'perfesto'; returning once more to the 'perfeuto' of the beginning. In their struggle to articulate correctly, it is not uncommon for the 'r' to slip out and for them to say 'prefeuto'. When one shows them the mouth so they can see the articulation of the 'c' between the back of the tongue and the back of the palate, they say 'perfequeto', with the 'c' palatalised or velarised, or else they split the word in two: 'perfec-to'. They finally end up getting annoyed at their vocal inability and say to you with a friendly sneer: 'Perfeuto no mah, my little gentleman'.

Using the same euphonic adaptation, we have modified the Araucanian words used by some of those groups: from 'Ragco' ('rag' = clay, 'co' = water) came Arauco; from 'Cactün', Cautín; instead of 'Coyagn' = to discuss. The chroniclers wrote 'coyan'. It is true that the g in 'coyagn' is not exactly the Castilian g.

It is well known that among the various Gothic tribes there were dialectal differences regarding the pronunciation of certain diphthongs, and perhaps of certain vowels; thus, for example, the name that the Visigoths wrote in Latin documents as 'Theudoricus' or 'Theodoricus', appears in Vandal writings as 'Theudarix', and in those of the Ostrogoths as 'Theudarix' or 'Thiodorix', sometimes 'Thiudorix'. For further reading on these issues, see *Gotische Elementarbuch* by Dr W. Streitberg (Heidelberg, 1900).

The origin of these Galician elements in our language does not stem from the fact that a large proportion of the conquerors were from Galicia, but rather from the fact that Galician was the first Romance language on the Iberian Peninsula. During the century in which the Suevi remained in Spain, before the Visigoths moved there from France, they began to develop the Romance language in the regions they inhabited, with the euphonic adaptations best suited to their particular phonetics, whilst their kinsmen north of the Pyrenees laid the foundations of Castilian Romance, which there was the first stratum of Provençal. Castilian, which originated in the south of France, or perhaps in Italy, encountered Galician Romance in Spain; at that time, it differed less from Castilian than it does today, and it is possible that in the early days a Romance language was spoken in Castile and León that drew on both branches, since those provinces were taken from the Suevi by the Visigoths, as I mentioned earlier.

In all early Castilian writings, the influence of Galician has been noted by various authors, and until the 12th and 13th centuries, the simultaneous use of both languages was common in Castile. Alfonso the Wise himself used Castilian for his prose works and Galician for his poetry. It would appear that it was the Castilian literati who accentuated and definitively brought about the separation between these two branches of the peninsular Romance language, but as is the case with all scholarly changes in language, this differentiation reached the illiterate only very late, among whom, I would remind you once more, were all the commoner Goths and also many of their nobles, since Castilian Romance, like the others, became literary at the court of the Gothic kings, and it was kings, princes, marquises and other men of the qualified Gothic nobility, with rare exceptions, who were the first Castilian authors.

Hence, many words have remained in Spanish in which the Suevic euphonisation of those consonant clusters is employed, as I showed earlier.

b) Castilian words of German origin:

I believe this is the reason why some of the words of Teutonic etymology in Castilian resemble Old High German more than Wulfila's Gothic. Take, for example, 'galardón', which, according to etymologists, comes from the Old High German *widarlon* with a metathesis of the *d* and the *l*.

The German word is a compound of the adverb = back, in return, and the noun 'lon' = wage. In Gothic, I am not aware of an adverb with that meaning, but I do know the verb 'windan', meaning to go back, to return, so its adverb would be somewhat different from the German one, and the Gothic noun meaning 'wage' is 'laun', as can be seen, likewise different from 'lon'. Galardón therefore bears a closer resemblance to the Old High German term than to the Gothic ones. I explain this phenomenon by recalling that the Suevi remained in southern Germany until their exodus towards the Iberian Peninsula, so the Gothic spoken by them would have more similarities with the language of those regions of Germany until their exodus towards the Iberian Peninsula, so the Gothic spoken by them

would bear closer resemblance to the language of those regions of Germany than that spoken by the Goths settled in south-western Russia, and that those Castilian words which resemble German more than Gothic were created by the Suevi and, having been formed in this way, were accepted by the Germanic peoples who arrived in Spain after them. This is the same process by which so many Latin words with Galician euphonisation came to be preserved in Castilian.

Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo believes that the influence of Galician on Old Castilian arose solely from the imitation by Castilian poets of Galician poetry, which appeared more than a century before the former; but the learned perpetual secretary reflects only within the realm of literature, which is his forte. Imbued with the prevailing ideas regarding the Goths' lack of influence on the formation of the peninsular Romance languages, he takes no account whatsoever of their presence in Spain, a lack of knowledge that is palpable on every page of the beautiful prefaces accompanying his volumes of **Anthology of Castilian Lyric Poets**.

Our professor Federico Hansen is, to my knowledge, the first to have asserted that the difference between Castilian and Portuguese—the latter being derived from Galician—stems from the fact that the former was the Romance language formed by the Visigoths, and the latter by the Suevi.

Hansen explains the Galician influence on Castilian by the linguistic legacy left by the Suevi in the provinces seized from them by the Visigoths. Exactly. His observations that the Galician influence on the Aragonese dialect is merely orthographic and not phonetic, as other authors have claimed, are also very accurate.

It is surely due to the pronunciation of the inhabitants of León and Castile, similar to that of Galicia, that the Arab historians of Spain, especially Ibn Khaldun, refer to the people of León and Castile of that time as Galicians.

That, then, is the origin of the Galician echoes in the Chilean dialect.

c) The conquerors of Chile came from all over, but of all those, only those with Gothic blood and spirit:

It is true that the Goths were always more numerous in northern Spain and Andalusia, but they came to Chile from all parts of the Peninsula; but from all over, the same men, with their distinctive speech, physique and spirit, men whom the Araucanians called 'Quellupallum' = red beard, and whom an author who knew them describes thus, speaking of the Spaniards of Chile in the 1700s:

'Generally speaking, the features of their faces, as well as their complexion and stature, are like those of the Spaniards born in the northern parts of Spain, to whom they certainly bear the greatest resemblance, even if their father is from the southern parts of Spain itself or from some other part of the Americas.'

Gómez de Vidaurre, op. cit.

The good abbot cannot explain this phenomenon, and he notes it down with the precision of a meticulous naturalist. I have already reminded you in prose of the cause that summoned them to this land and the music that drew them from the most distant regions; now allow me to quote what the immortal Ercilla said of them in verse:

‘Free spirits, stripped of fear.

Accustomed to danger

which the horrendous sound that torments others

stirs and feeds in others’.

Don Alonso pronounced the aspirated ‘h’, so there is no synalepha between ‘always’ and ‘accustomed’, and the verse is a perfect hendecasyllable.

The immortal poet describes how he himself came from London, and others from various parts of Spain and Europe, in search of joy and nourishment for their souls; and, referring to the conscription carried out by Hurtado de Mendoza in Peru to join the war in Arauco, he adds:

“From remote Quito, people set out

to take part in this war:

from Loja, Piura, and Jaén they set out:

from Trujillo, from Guánuco and its lands,

from Guamanga and Arequipa they came

in great numbers; and from the villages of the highlands.

La Paz, Cuzco, and Las Charcas, well-armed,

many valiant soldiers came down’.

I hope I will not be criticised for citing poets as a source of historical information, for, besides the fact that the author of *La Araucana* is recognised for his accuracy in the events he recounts, it would have seemed to me an impiety, in a study on the origins of our race, not to quote the immortal bard of our forefathers' heroism:

'... If *La Araucana* is a literary monument of the Spanish language, it must also be a national and beloved book for Chileans: it is the baptismal certificate of our nation

'May Spain forgive us: Ercilla is the first Chilean writer, the founder of our national literature and history. He is our heritage and we claim him,' says Abraham Köning in the preface to the edition of the national epic. Whilst the people of Chile pay tribute in bronze to the unquenchable debt of gratitude they owe to their illustrious poet, may a Chilean roto be permitted to quote him.

Regarding the physical appearance of the conquistadors, Abbot Gómez himself, in another part of his work, gives us, indirectly, further details, for in describing the *rotos* of his time he says:

"The mestizos and quarter-bloods, as far as their bodies are concerned, are well-built, generally white like the Spaniards, so that were it not for their hair, which is straight, thick and black, even after several generations, they would be indistinguishable from a pure Spaniard."

It was, then, from well-built Spaniards—who did not have straight, thick or black hair, and whom we could not describe as 'perfect'—that we inherited our blood and language.

13.-

a) On the Castilian b and v and the Gothic w:

The replacement of b and v with g, which in Chilean Spanish is commonly expressed as: ‘güitre’, ‘güeno’, ‘golber’, ‘regüelto’, etc., stems from the influence of the Gothic w and the confusion that existed in Old Castilian between the b and the v.

In Gothic, the labiodental sound represented by the v does not exist, but only the bilabial b, which had two values, one explosive and the other fricative, like those found in Chilean: ‘barca’, explosive, with the lips touching each other; ‘abarca’, fricative, merely bringing them close together.

In Castilian Romance, the Goths themselves, when they began to write their new language, used ‘g’ for words that began with ‘w’ in their Germanic tongue: ‘gaje’, from the Gothic ‘wadi’; ‘guarecer’, from ‘warian’; ‘guía’, from ‘witan’; ‘¡guay!’, from ‘¡wail!’, etc.

Early Spanish writers used b and v interchangeably; the rules Rufino J. Cuervo refers to regarding the use of these consonants are imaginary, as are some of his assertions on archaic phonetics. The labiodental pronunciation of v in modern Spanish is a creation of Iberian Latinists, and as such has not reached us.

The u in the diphthongs ue/ui is consonantised in Castilian, sounding like the consonant u, or Gothic w, and in Chilean it sounds like a soft g: ‘güebo’, ‘alcagüete’, which is the same value that w had in Gothic, so it would be more logical to write our words with that letter: ‘weso’, ‘wincha’, etc., such as ‘witre’, ‘weno’.

Nor is that pronunciation a Chileanism:

“Valdés.—They still play around with the poor g, sometimes, as I have already told you, putting the g in its place, saying ‘güerta’, ‘güeso’, ‘güevo’, for ‘huerta’, ‘hueso’, ‘huevo’.”

b) On the use of ‘vos’ in Old Spanish and in Chilean Spanish:

The ‘vos’ we use instead of ‘tú’ is the same as that found in all the ancient writers:

“You come on a sturdy mule,

I on a light horse.”

From the poem *Castellanos y Leoneses*, quoted by Dozy.

The ‘vos’ so widely used in Chile and in everyday conversation is a vulgarism that should be avoided, and to conjugate it with the singular form of verbs is an error by the distinguished grammarian, explainable in his case because he did not know the Chilean dialect and only heard some of its particular expressions in Santiago.

Our second-person plural forms of the past tenses are the old Castilian forms without the ‘i’ ‘vos amastes’ instead of ‘vos amasteis’, which in Chilean are pronounced with an aspirated s: ‘amahteh’, the final h being barely perceptible to an ear unaccustomed to our phonetics. We Chileans never commit that error of agreement.

Surely when Don Andrés heard a schoolboy say, for example: ‘voh lo agarrahteh’, he did not perceive the final h and thought he was saying ‘agarraste’, the second person singular. Hence the good-natured scholar’s annoyance.

But it happens that when provincials arrive at school in Santiago, they learn to say ‘tú’ instead of ‘vos’, and to pronounce the sibilant ‘s’, yet they continue to agree ‘tú’ with the second-person plural, saying ‘tú quisistes’, and there they really do get it wrong; so here too Bello was right to reproach us for that ‘corruption’,

I am slow to forgive those who attack my race, but apart from the fact that Bello criticised us to teach us, and that as a foreigner and city-dweller he could not have known our language, the errors in verb conjugation must have struck him at the very heart of his knowledge, since it was that part of grammar which he particularly advanced, discovering new horizons with a brilliant eye, which he explored and analysed as a distinguished master. The Chileans who continue to level the same criticisms at us are merely unwitting echoes of that illustrious compatriot.

Had Bello heard the final 's' in the verbs with which we agree the 'vos', he would have criticised us only for the fact that in Chile we were still using ancient verb forms, which he knew very well, and which can be seen in the following verses written some five hundred years ago:

'Religious ones who sought
Solitude, Obedience and
chastity, Poverty which you
promised; Yet to pomp you
gave, Leaving the
monasteries, I judge that the
lazeiros Were the only path
you took.
Since you renounced the
world with pious vows, keep
those vows which you freely
made:
And if not, the glory you
sought shall turn to sorrow.
And all the greater will be
The greater the reward you received.'

I have taken the liberty of copying these two stanzas for you to provide ample documentary evidence, and also because these verses resemble, like twins, both in form and in ideas, one that I possess by a popular Curican poet, a carpenter by trade. The ones I have copied for you are by the Spanish nobleman Gómez Manrique.

In these stanzas, one can see some archaic terms now used only in Chilean Spanish, such as 'laseio' = lacing, 'obediencia', 'prosупuestos', 'premia'. The verb 'foir' = to flee is in Chilean Spanish 'fuyir' with a Chilean f (jf).

I have my reasons for believing that Gómez Manrique pronounced that verb as we do: with an f that is not the modern Spanish one, with an o similar to a u, and with a consonantal i as in 'foytes', a consonantal i whose phonetic value must today be represented as yi in that word.

The Chilean 'vos' does not have the full form 'vosotros', which Old Castilian also had, and is undeclinable; consequently, in enclitic case constructions we use the forms of 'tú': 'voh', 'de voh', 'con voh'; or 'salí voh' for 'salíos' or 'salid vosotros'.

By using 'vos', we avoid many of the ambiguous phrases that result from the use of 'vosotros' in Castilian.

c) The word 'hombre' in Chilean:

We use 'hom' and 'ho' for 'hombre' only in the singular and plural vocative: 'mir'ho', 'vengan', 'hom'. In all other cases we use the current Spanish form: 'El hombre mira', 'the men are coming'.

In the works of early writers, this word is found written as 'omne', 'ome', 'home', 'hom', and it was only in the 15th century that some authors began to use 'hombre', with that 'r' appearing in it—one of those that used to buzz restlessly in the inner ear of the creators of the romance.

The pronunciation of the forms 'home' and 'ome' seems to have been the same as ours in the past, that is to say, the final 'e' was not pronounced, as can be understood from certain verses in which that 'e' is superfluous:

'Alone with ome, do not trust

Nor draw near to the hawthorn'.

Two eight-syllable hemistiches by the Archpriest of Hita.

d) Vowels in Chilean Spanish:

As for the permutations, changes, omissions or additions of vowels in the Castilian words we use in Chilean Spanish, I shall tell you, sir, that I believe I have found them all in the works of peninsular writers prior to the discovery of America: 'polido', 'Trenidad', 'dicir', 'escrebir', 'sospirar', 'resplendor', 'cudicia', 'espiriencia', 'durmir', 'defunto', 'empremir', 'escuro', 'quistión', 'entinción', etc., etc., are terms used by authors such as the Marquis of Santillana, Ferrán Pérez de Guzmán, Chancellor López de Ayala, the uncrowned king Don Álvaro de Luna and other figures incapable of tolerating that anyone should have taken the liberty of criticising their speech.

Dolor, color and other nouns with similar endings were feminine, as in Chilean Spanish:

'And coming out to receive me

The good king and his retinue,

He could no longer hide from me

His sorrow, which was so great."

Marqués de Santillana.

e) Prepositions:

It is true that our phonology, morphology and syntax are not yet settled, with a great deal of uncertainty being observed particularly in the use of prepositional particles; but the same thing always occurs in every language until it becomes standardised and writing establishes the forms and relationships of words.

Among the corruptions for which we are criticised is that of using 'de' as an ordinary complement with the direct object of a verbal infinitive, a construction that is also merely archaic:

'Madam, as far as I know

of your troubles, I place my hope in you,

And to your home in Guadalupe

I promise to be a pilgrim".

López de Ayala.

In the documents written by the conquistadors and chroniclers of Chile during the first century of the conquest, we also find the words and phrases most commonly used today. Those listed below are taken from the letters of Valdivia, the Cabildos of Santiago, Álvarez de Toledo, González de Nájera, Núñez de Pineda and Góngora Marmolejo: 'lenguas' = news, 'quema' = burning, 'imos' = we went, 'desprender' = to learn, 'trujo' = he brought, 'disistión' = withdrawal, 'ensangostar' = to narrow, 'agora', 'mesmo', 'ansi' = 'thus', 'chiflar', 'ñutrimiento', 'asigurar', 'niervo', 'husga' = 'huya', 'destrucción', 'concebición' = conception, 'perfición', 'tato' = touch, 'reta' = straight, 'sobar' = to defeat, 'efetuar', 'plático' and 'prático' = practical, 'infrutuoso', 'indino' = unworthy, 'sinar' = to mark, 'manigio', 'lición', 'hivierno', 'sulcar' = to plough, 'arrimar' = to agree with an opinion, 'peje' = fish, 'alverjas', 'celebro' = brain, 'asoltar' = to let go, 'inopia' = deprivation, 'poverty', 'desapartar' = to set aside, etc., etc. Contractions such as 'desta', 'desa', 'dallá', 'dacá', 'ques', 'desque' = since; 'qué', 'porqué', 'dél', 'questaba', 'inter' = in the meantime, etc., are common among all writers of that era. Nuñez de Pineda uses 'agrecila' for 'agradecila' (p. 146). In 16th-century writers, as in those of the Peninsula, the infinitive with an enclitic beginning with that same letter is written with an 'l' at the end: 'amalla', 'decill', 'tenello', etc., pronounced: 'amal-la', 'decil-le', 'tenel-lo', as we do.

f) Personal negative:

In Chilean Spanish, the negative form for 'person' appears in six forms: 'nadir', 'naide', 'nadi', 'naiden', 'nadien', 'nadin'. The final 'n', which I have not found documented, I do not believe is our own invention either. The original meaning of 'nadie' was positive, as it is equivalent to 'born', and it only came to be negative due to its frequent use in negative sentences. I believe that this suffix, the negative letter par excellence in Gothic and Latin, was brought to Chile by the conquistadors, and I find that it suits it well. I find our 'nadien' more negative than the simple Castilian 'nadie'.

g) Changes in the form of certain words:

It is more difficult than is commonly believed for writing to definitively establish the form of a word. I have found the name of our capital written as 'Sanet Yac', 'Sant Yague', 'Sant Yago', 'Santi Yago' and 'Santiago'. But it is the words containing the elusive consonants l and r that have undergone the greatest vicissitudes. Thus, the Conventual friars have been called 'flayres', 'frailes', 'fraires', 'freiles', 'freilas', 'freirres', 'freiras', 'freres', 'fray' and 'frey'.

I believe that, in addition to the documented forms, other intermediate forms must have existed in spoken language in early times, for it is impossible to explain otherwise the metamorphosis of the Latin *t* in *frater* into the *l* of *fraile*; nor am I satisfied by the diphthongisation of the Latin *a* that gave rise to the *ai* in the first syllable of the Spanish word.

Etymologists say that many Castilian words derive from the accusative or ablative of the corresponding Latin form. In the present case, 'fraile' would come from *fratrem* or *fratre*, which would amount to the same thing, since the final 'm' was not pronounced by the Latins of that time; the Goths heard that word as 'fratre', and as the 't', as I have recalled, sounded like a 'd' in their speech in various positions, it became 'fradre', unpronounceable for those Teutons without the euphonic 'i' they inserted in 'Peidro', so they said 'fraidre', simply 'fraire', like 'Peiro', and hence 'fraile', 'flaire', due to the permutations common to these semivowels, with the former ultimately prevailing. The forms 'frere' and 'frei' are analogous to 'Pero' and 'Per'.

And there you have the added or epenthetic 'i' that I promised you.

h) Consonant Echeverría:

There are several other very interesting points in our phonetics, which are a great help in resolving the problems of pronunciation in archaic Castilian, but this letter is getting too long. I wish to note here the existence of a sound particular to Chilean Spanish, that of the *f* in 'futre', 'fumar', 'fui', 'difunto', etc., a sound that combines the Castilian *f* and *j* and which Echeverría rightly states that 'they are pronounced with a double frication, one on the lips and the other on the palate', a sound which I believe arrived in Chile from Europe, brought by the Goths.

Well known to those engaged in such studies are the debates sparked by the manner in which the Goths pronounced the 'f', a problem that remains unresolved to this day. Wulfila represented it with the Greek *g*, a bilabial consonant, as it sounds in Chilean *feo*, distinct from the Castilian *f* which, like the Latin *f*, is articulated according to the Academy between the upper teeth and the lower lip, being thus a labiodental consonant, as was the Roman *f* in Wulfila's time.

In Chilean Spanish, the Castilian 'f' is absent, with only the bilabial being present. In contrast, our dialect possesses that special double articulation which Echeverría was the first to describe, and which could be represented in writing as 'jf', since, at least virtually, the palatal frication precedes the labial.

The language of the Goths possessed several of these complex articulations, which Wulfila represented using groups of consonants from the Greek alphabet, inventing some symbols for special articulations.

How would the Goths have pronounced the *f* in the Latin words they adopted, given that they had no labiodental consonant? Did the Gothic language have the *jf* articulation?

There are other facts, among others: during the 14th and 15th centuries, the '*f*' in the Latin words from which Castilian words derived began to be lost in some Castilian words, and that labial consonant appears in writing replaced by an '*h*' which was an aspirated post-palatal, similar to the sound of the '*j*' in modern Spanish, a letter which neither Latin nor archaic Spanish possessed. Thus, from *filius* came '*fijo*', and later '*hijo*'; from *forus*, '*forno*', later written as '*horno*'; from *fames*, first '*fame*', then '*fambre*' and finally '*hambre*', etc. In other words, the labial consonant appears from the outset and has persisted to this day, as in '*fácil*' from *facilis*, '*feroz*' from *ferox*, or the post-palatal consonant appears from the start, as in '*haya*' from *fagus*, '*heno*' from *fenum*. There are still many words in Spanish in which this bifurcation of the Latin *f* can be seen: '*humo*' and '*fumo*', from the Latin *fumus*; '*hondo*' and '*fondo*', from *fundus*; '*hambre*' and '*famélico*'. Did a differentiation, a splitting of the articulation given to the Latin *f* by the creators of Romance languages, therefore occur at that time? Is this one of the origins of the *j* sound in modern Spanish? What was the Gothic articulation that Wulfila represented with the Greek *phi*? From the Gothic '*falthan*' (*th* = soft *d*, as in the English '*th*'), Old Norse '*falda*', the Spanish '*halda*' and '*falda*' are derived; the Castilian words '*fato*' and '*hato*' come from the Gothic '*fatha*'. The same split that occurred with the Latin '*f*' was therefore verified with the Gothic '*f*'.

Regarding the etymology of '*hato*', on which I disagree with serious scholars, I would say that to understand the concept the Goths of Spain expressed with the word '*hato*', one must bear in mind that the conquerors did not use that word here, but rather the noun '*aparta*', which preserves the Gothic concept. This Chileanism is thus of Gothic ideological origin, though not formal.

The shift of a consonant from one group to another, from a labial, for example, to a palatal, as has occurred in the case we have seen, is due to the dominant influence of one of those consonants over the other, to assimilation, as experts say; but in the cases studied there is nothing of the sort; furthermore, these are not isolated words, a singular phenomenon, but a series, a special phonetic law.

Thus, one of the most vital letters of Latin has been lost in Spanish. The Latin *f* was a strong fricative sound that transformed or assimilated neighbouring consonants: instead of *adfero*, one said *affero* = 'I bring', changing the lingual-dental *d* into a dental *f*. The Latin *f*'s, like those of Gothic, which due to that particular split were replaced by the guttural *h* of the Goths, were ultimately lost, as that *h* gradually softened until today it represents merely a rudiment with no phonetic value.

In the speech of the unlettered and in the Romance dialects, many words and sounds particular to the people who created them remain preserved, which is why the study of dialects is of greater importance than has hitherto been accorded to it in the history of the formation of modern languages. According to Unamuno, in various regions of Spain one hears among the uneducated populace words in which the Castilian '*f*' is replaced by '*j*'. The Andalusians say '*jembra*' = '*hembra*' (female), which was formerly written '*fembra*', from the Latin '*femina*'. The Andalusians have not invented such a change of consonants. In Chilean Spanish we say

'jeder' = heder, from foetere, and we conjugate the entire verb with a 'j': 'jalar' = halar, of Nordic origin or perhaps from some Gothic word that has not survived in documents. This change from a j to an h makes Chilean words very different from Castilian ones, for today the h has no sound; but in the past this was not the case; the written word 'halar' was pronounced 'jalar' by the conquistadors, so we too have not invented this change, which is entirely consistent with the transformations we have seen, and is merely a phonetic archaism. The Castilian word 'hedor' is 'jedor' in Chilean Spanish, and sometimes 'fedor', both archaisms brought over by the conquistadors. These were surely the 'traces' of the conquistadors' speech to which Father Ovalle refers. Among these traces, I believe, is the pronunciation of the consonant 'Echeverría'.

In Chilean Spanish, we have many words in which that double consonant sounds perfectly distinct. In addition to those already mentioned: 'jfutre', 'jfumar', 'dijfunto', and 'jfogata', 'jfuelle', 'Aljfonso', etc., we conjugate the entire verb 'jfuyir' = to flee with the same consonant, and all forms of 'ir' beginning with f: 'jfui', 'jfuihteh', 'jfue', etc., 'jfuiese', 'jfuera', etc., as well as the equivalents of 'ser'. It is clear that in the first verb we have substituted a Castilian h (the archaic form) with 'jf', and in the others we have replaced an f with the same double consonant.

Araucanian does not possess the f sound. Neither Febrés, nor Hernández, nor Valdivia include words with that consonant in their works. Lenz states that the indigenous language of Chile lacks that letter. The rare instances that appear today in modern Chilidugu seem to originate from the languages beyond the Andes, as they are heard particularly among the Huilliches and the Pehuenches.

The question of the origin of the consonant is a subject for a whole chapter, but this brief study would require a discussion of opinions and the naming of authors and works, which I wish to avoid. For us, this is of particular importance because these specific modulations are due to the simultaneous action of groups of muscles in the vocal organs; muscles that come into combined activity because the nerves that control them have connections to the volitional centres of the brain, the structure of which is transmitted through heredity.

Chapter V

Continuation, general remarks

1. a) General trends in the Chilean language in harmony with the mindset of the people. b) Contractions, apocopes, etc. c) Origin of the terminology in Castilian metre, and of the use of assonant rhyme in its versification. d) Contractions in English. e) Contractions in Chilean Spanish. 2. a) Influence of writing on the development of languages. The academics. b) The tendency towards the past tense in modern Spanish has a biological cause. c) The need to know a Germanic language to study the modern sciences. Germanic and Latin languages. d) Unfounded fear. e) A phrase in Chilean Spanish.

1.-

a) General trends in the Chilean language in harmony with the mindset of the people:

With regard to general trends in our language, two may be cited, both of which have the same psychological cause. That which leads us to standardise its morphology, as Echeverría and Reyes rightly observe regarding conjugations, and that of the shortening and simplification of words and phrases, removing the first letters or syllables from the former and, from the latter, any word that can be omitted without obscuring or damaging their meaning.

As these manifestations of the character of our language are diametrically opposed to those of modern Spanish, they have earned the harshest criticism from reviewers. Our phrases: 'p'ir pa'l puerto', 'mir'ho', or others, arouse the ill humour of the Castilian grumblers, who launch into abuse against us.

It is not difficult to see the connection between the laconic nature of our sayings and witticisms, which I pointed out to you in my first letter, and this omission of letters and words in our speech; both belong to the same order of mental manifestations: the externalisation of thought through the word, and in both one observes the same predominance of the idea over form, of the essential over the secondary.

This feature of how our brain functions is also inherited by both races, as is easy to prove, and its manifestations are not limited to language but leave their mark on our entire moral and mental being.

For those unaccustomed to reflecting on the close connection that links the most varied manifestations of thought in a single individual or a single race—when both possess that harmony in the totality of their mental operations known as equilibrium—it will not be easy to discern the relationship between what has been called the 'garment of thought' and the material garment, the individual's attire; but psychologists assert that both these external expressions of thought derive from identical ideological processes. The Chilean's aversion to flowery and grandiloquent phrases, then, has the same inner cause as his disdain for finery and personal adornment. No people wear less jewellery than the Chileans. Until a few years ago, this was true across the board, from the destitute pauper to the millionaire pauper; today, some young men in Santiago are beginning to wear diamond rings, chains with trinkets and flashy ties—a custom once reserved for gamblers and show-offs; but the true pauper, the one who has remained unspoilt, has not adopted this custom and will not accept it until his moral character changes; he leaves jewellery and adornments to his women.

Instinct alone tells the Chilean that careful attention to one's personal appearance is a sign of effeminacy, and modern science has now reached the same conclusion. It is now taken for granted that, from the metallic sheen of the male beetle, the colourful plumage and sweet song of the male bird, and the natural adornments of mammals of the same sex, right through to the elaborate and showy attire of the male, these are unmistakable signs of the female's dominance in the selection of the species. Flashy or elaborate insignia of command or social power have a different meaning.

b) Contractions, apocopes, etc.:

And returning to the contractions, crasis, syncopation, elision, etc., that we use in our language, these are nothing but effects of European psychological inheritance. It will already have been noted that the Gordos shortened many of the Romance words they took from the Roman language to the point of revealing their Latin etymology. In addition to those already mentioned, many other words can be cited in which one can even see the reduction of Latin phrases to a single word: 'aqueste' from 'atque' + 'iste'; 'aquel' from 'atque' + 'ille'; 'otro', formerly 'al', from 'alter'; 'algo' from 'aliquid'; 'tamaño' from tantus + magnus; 'quizá' from quis + sapit; 'después' from de + ex post; 'cada uno', or 'caduno', as it was said in the past and we still say today, from cada + quisque + unus. From petrula, the Goths derived 'perla' and later Castilians derived 'piedrezuela'.

From the late 15th century or early 16th century, when the Royal Academy of Language had not yet been established, the phrase 'vuestra señoría' was shortened to 'usía', and the phrase 'vuestra merced' became 'vuesa merced', and then gradually contracted until it was reduced to a single three-letter word: 'vuesa', 'erced', 'vuesarced', 'usarced', 'voadced', 'vuced', 'used', 'oacé' and 'océ', with a few other intermediate forms. Today, a return to the original full form is considered elegant in writing.

In personal names, the Goths of Spain carried out the same reduction in colloquial speech and in writing: Per from 'Peidro', Rui from 'Roderik'; from the patronymic of the latter, Rodríguez, they derived 'Roderiz' and 'Ruiz' through syncope.

We use 'Roirih', and the full form is one of the most difficult words for us to pronounce, sounding like 'Roidrigueh' or 'Roigrigueh'. From the Gothic 'Loudwin' they made Luis, now Lucho, as it is a Castilian tendency to lengthen proper names in colloquial speech, unlike in other languages: Juancho from 'Juan', Mañungo or Manongo from 'Manuel', Perico from 'Pedro', Marica from 'María', etc.

In speech, the ancient Spaniards must have used many contractions and apocopes, for they are still very common in their writings:

'Every day I imagine

How I looked at you back then.

And I pinpoint the hour

When I spoke to you then.

And I say that, as far as I can tell

It seems to me that I was saying,

And it is not by seeing you reply

Rather than seeing my death

To suffer such a sorrow.

Don Juan Manuel, 15th century.

In earlier centuries, the place where the letter was omitted was not even marked with a comma; instead, the two contracted sounds were pronounced as a single syllable, as in the pronunciation:

‘The sorrow and great care

Are still with me,

For pleasure and joy

Have thus left me forsaken”.

López de Ayala.

"Man"—they have me.

In the poem *El Cid* they are very common, and this has been one of the difficulties in understanding certain passages, difficulties that do not exist for those who know Chilean Spanish:

“They hasten and think of riding.”

Line 1448

'Hyas espiden' – they are already taking their leave.

"After they had spent the night from night until dawn."

Line 1100

"Noch" – night, "man" – morning.

"The sun rises in the east and returns to that place."

Line 1091

That 'exe' is the present indicative, so it should have been written 'exa' – leaves. The final 'e' was added by the copyist, so in pronunciation only the 'e' of the following is heard: 'A orient ej el sol' is how that phrase is pronounced in Chilean Spanish.

Eduardo de la Barra was quite right to omit certain superfluous syllables in some words of this poem, but there are far more that can and should be omitted to achieve the correct metre in some of its verses—syllables written by the scribe, but which were not pronounced by those who sang or recited it, for I am convinced that the poets of that time used as many contractions in their spoken language as we do, if not more. There are in that magnificent epic some verses of excessive length, yet they sound perfect when pronounced in Chilean Spanish; for

example, verse 3725 is written in the aforementioned codex: 'A todos alcanza ondra por el que en buen hora nació'. Bearing in mind that at that time the hiatus was the rule, that verse has eighteen syllables, when the poet intended it to have only sixteen, with two hemistiches of eight syllables each. The first has eight, but the second has ten, according to Castilian syllabic counting: 'por-el-que-en-buen-ora-na-ció'. Pronounced in Chilean Spanish, it has its full eight syllables: 'por'l-qu'en-bue-no-ra-na-ció'.

In this very poem, it is easy to see that the syllable or syllables following the last stressed syllable of each line are not taken into account for the rhyme, which indicates that they were not pronounced, and should therefore not be counted when assessing its metre. This can be seen in a run of monorhyme on a stressed 'a': 'consonar part', 'adelante', 'mande', 'al', 'fablastes', 'caen'. 'Fanez', 'calvagar', etc., in which 'adelante' should be pronounced only as 'adelant'; 'caen', only as 'can'; 'fablastes', 'fablast'; etc. In other places where the rhyme is on an acute 'o', we find 'consonar cort', 'Alfonso', 'lidiador', 'Yherónimo', where the final syllable must be omitted in 'Alfonso' and the last two in 'Yherónimo'. This metrical procedure is common in *El Cid* and widely used in other poetry of the 12th and 13th centuries, in which the final syllable is written or omitted interchangeably in the text, with only the rhyme indicating whether it should be pronounced or not.

Anyone who has heard Chilean peasant women singing will have noticed the same procedure: when the name of the person to whom the song is addressed is too long to fit the musical metre, the singer simply shortens it as much as necessary, without anyone finding this strange. They do the same with the poorly metred verses of some popular poems.

c) Origin of the terminology in Castilian metre, and of the use of assonant rhyme in its versification:

The particular nomenclature of Castilian metre is probably due to that optional suppression or contraction of the syllables following the last stressed syllable in the verses of early Spanish; this nomenclature always considers a syllable to exist after the last stressed syllable of each verse, and never more than one.

I believe that the use of what is known as assonant rhyme—which was not employed in either Latin or Greek, but which was common in some ancient poetry of northern Europe and is still used today in Castilian and German, a poetic innovation introduced into Provence and Spain by the phonetics of the Goths.

The same linguistic process must account for the changes from full to weak vowels observed in Chilean Spanish, shifting the stress to a syllable preceding that which carries it in Castilian Spanish, as this facilitates diphthongisation and the shortening of the vowel: 'meih' for maíz, 'léido' for leído, 'Valparéiso' for Valparaíso, etc.

d) Contractions in English:

That reduction which the Goths effected in Latin words and subsequently in the Romance languages they created, and which continues to be observed in our dialect, is not an isolated phenomenon in the history of languages. The most interesting case in this regard is that of the English language, which is based on Anglo-Saxon, a language, as I have recalled, very similar to Gothic.

English has a tendency to shift the stress to the first syllables of words, omitting the vowels from the subsequent syllables and leaving that cluster of consonants—many of which are unpronounceable even to the English themselves—which appear in the written form, like organs in the process of atrophy, without any essential function, as seen in some living beings. They have been slowly disappearing from the written form as well, despite the opposition of etymologists. But it was in the period prior to the written form of these languages that their speakers so simplified their words that today it is almost a monosyllabic language, and they simplified and regularised its morphology and syntax to such an extent that it is regarded as the most advanced of the inflected languages.

An example: 'lord' is a syncope of the Old English 'hlaforð', which in turn is a contraction of 'hlaƿ'—bread—and 'aforð'—to give. In London, the 'r' in 'lord' is no longer pronounced, thus reducing the ten original letters to just three, whilst retaining the same meaning, that is, 'he who gives bread', 'the generous one', 'the powerful one'. The English word 'lady' derives from the Old English 'hlaefdaeg'.

In everyday conversation, the British continue to shorten their language even further through contractions. This phrase: 'you had better do it', and 'will not forgive you if you do not'—'you'd better do it', 'I won't forgive you if you don't'; they pronounce and write it as: 'You'd better do it', and 'won't forgive you if you don't'. Or this other one: 'I have been asked but shall not go because I cannot'—'I have been invited, but I shall not go because I cannot go'; they write it like this in the dialogues of their novels: 'I've been asked, but shan't go because I can't'. In these sentences, one can see truly surprising contractions, such as 'wan't' for 'will not', in which the 'o' from the second word has moved to the first, replacing the 'i'. This transposition of sounds, a loss due to euphony, forces writers to place the comma indicating the omission in a position that does not always correspond to where the omitted letters should be. Moreover, that comma, which, like the last vestiges of the organs that evolution has eliminated in living beings—vestiges called 'rudiments' by biologists, tends to disappear in writing; and so one often sees 'shan't', a contraction of 'shall not', written simply as 'shant'; 'don't', from 'do not', as merely 'dont', and so on, just as organisms in which even the anatomical rudiments have been lost now present the new, correct form of their new evolutionary phase.

It may be noted that Castilian Spanish, quite rightly, follows the opposite path. In the earliest writers, we saw that the omissions of sounds were not reflected in the writing; later, a comma was used to mark the place of the omission; and subsequently, the omitted letter or letters were restored, first in writing and then in pronunciation.

The reduction of the English vocabulary to monosyllabic words and the frequent contractions used in conversation make the succession of ideas in dialogue in that language so rapid that this is one of the greatest difficulties for a person accustomed to the rich Spanish language to follow the flow of everyday speech in English; and that very brevity of its words makes it impossible for the British to pronounce, without prior practice, the multi-syllabic words of Spanish, such as ‘paralelepipedoidales’, for example.

d) Contractions in Chilean Spanish:

The contractions and euphonic transpositions used by the English far surpass those used by us Chileans, yet no one criticises them for it. It is true that ours somewhat reduce the traditional form of the grandiloquent words of the Castilian language. In the Chilean phrase: ‘tre'l catr'e fierr'ho' – ‘bring the iron cot, man’, we reduce the twenty-five letters of Spanish, pronounced in ten syllables, to fifteen letters, pronounced in five syllables, thus saving half the time. It's something.

The Americans have gone further than the English in economising on sounds in speech and their representation in writing, especially in modern scholarly words, shortening them wherever they see fit and leaving a comma in the spelling as a marker: ‘alligator’—caiman, they write as ‘‘gator’; hippopotamus—they trim it from the other end and write ‘hipo’. It would never occur to anyone in North America to censure these audacious mutilations, comparable only to the poet of El Cid's use of ‘man’ for ‘mañana’. The observation that ‘hipo’ means ‘horse’ in Greek, which one of our own etymologists might make, they would regard with supreme disdain, for they have nothing to do with the Greeks, nor do they write for Greeks, nor do they think in the language of nations that once were; their gaze is fixed solely on the future.

In the former Spanish possessions that now belong to the US, their first settlers left behind some melodious and resonant geographical names such as ‘San Francisco de California’, for example—a phrase far too long for the name of a single port, which is why the Americans have shortened it to the vulgar ‘Frisco’, just as the Goths reduced ‘Santander’ what the Iberians called ‘Portus Sancti Emeterii’. These are differences that lie in the very blood or in the brain cells of the races.

Our language, which, like everything genuinely Chilean, is gradually becoming the exclusive heritage of the poor and downtrodden, is not, therefore, something to be looked down upon, but rather a linguistic phenomenon of great interest to science and, in particular, to us. If it is

to date so uncertain in its structure, it is because it has not had the good fortune to find men of talent who have used it to express themselves in writing.

The Venetian dialect, which, like ours, preserves many echoes of the earliest Romance language born in Italy, passed down orally, found in Goldoni, the celebrated 18th-century Italian playwright, a figure who illuminated it and refined its forms through the creations of his intellect; modern Galician, which is in the same situation as Chilean and Venetian, has been illuminated by the award-winning contemporary poet Curros Enríquez; the Roto language awaits its man.

In the past year alone, I have had the pleasure of reading in Santiago's oldest newspaper a poem in Chilean Spanish dedicated to Rodolfo Lenz, which leads me to believe that, at the suggestion of that learned and intelligent professor from the Pedagogical Institute of Santiago, the poet has employed our language in his verses. My thanks to the professor and to the poet.

2.-

a) The influence of writing on the development of languages. The academics:

I have a friend who does me the favour of looking out for me, and who observed, with great alarm, that in my previous letter, instead of a Visigoth from Spain, I had placed a Guaso from Colchagua speaking with Columbus, in which I had committed, at the very least, an obvious anachronism. I hope that, given the brief evidence I have been able to adduce here, he has changed his mind.

We have no reason to be ashamed of using a language that is more regular and more laconic than modern Castilian. And here you must forgive me if, in retaliation for the much criticism we have received in the Castilian language for our manner of expression, I tell you sincerely what I think of that language, in which you have achieved such enviable triumphs.

All languages, upon becoming literary, undergo a halt in their development towards the regularisation of their morphology and towards the simplification and logic of their syntax, which is how the universal law of least effort is fulfilled in human speech. That halt reaches its highest degree when writing documents the forms and relationships of words in discourse. From the moment writing begins to exert its conservative influence on languages, their progress is reduced almost entirely to the acquisition of new words and phrases, though these remain within the laws of organic development that the language had attained before being crystallised by writing. From that stage onwards, the progress of languages is extremely slow, and the main barriers halting their advance are: the authority of the great writers,

in progressive races, and furthermore the tendency towards the past which, in this as in all aspects of their psychological activity, is evident in those races which, having once been progressive through interbreeding with superior races, are now purifying their primitive nature by eliminating foreign blood. Among the latter are the Romance languages, and amongst them Castilian, which has been most evident in its development due to this atavistic tendency.

It is, as I have reminded you, through writing that the Latin forms of the words of early Castilian have returned to their pronunciation. The influence of orthography on phonetics in this language has been so great that this is one of the most curious chapters in its history. I have, sir, a jumble of notes on this, and it may be that one day I shall untangle them for you.

It is due to this retrograde metamorphosis that neither Italian, nor Galician, nor Catalan today differ as much from the forms found in the earliest surviving documents of those languages as modern Spanish differs from that of the earliest peninsular writers. Any reasonably educated Italian can read Dante and other writers of the 13th and 14th centuries without any difficulty, whereas to understand the literary works in Castilian from those same centuries, a Spaniard requires specialised study as if it were another language.

That is the work of the Latinists and etymologists, whose wisdom I have described earlier. All the efforts of the Castilian-speaking humanists, with very few exceptions, have been directed towards bringing their language closer to that spoken by the Romans twenty centuries ago, and towards embellishing the phrase, rounding off the sentence, and imparting sonority and other external qualities to their language.

The motto of the humanists, organised in legions: 'Purify, Fix and Give Splendour', must be understood in a very particular way. By 'cleansing' the language, they mean enclosing it within a Chinese wall so that no new word, no neologism or barbarism—which they abhor—may penetrate it; the result of this, given the immense development of modern life, is that few books are of less use to a man of learning than a Dictionary of the Academy. Book publishers have partly remedied this shortcoming by providing the Spanish-speaking public with dictionaries featuring an 'appendix', which is now becoming as voluminous as the dictionary itself—something unheard of in any other language.

It is not 'fixed' but is moving in the direction we have seen, reviving forms that have died out through the use of spoken language. In their task of restoring fossils, Latin scholars have gone so far as to venture into the mother tongue itself, and with the success one might expect. I remember that my Latin teacher, Rodríguez Ojeda, dear Lioncho, used to make the school hall resound with the 'um' of 'templum', when it is now known that even before the conquest of Spain the Romans hardly ever pronounced the final 'm', and that that 'u' was not the Castilian 'u' either. I was also taught that the Romans called their great orator 'Cicero', whereas that gentleman would only respond when addressed as 'Quíquero', because the Latin 'c' sounded like a 'k'.

‘Splendour’, understood as external brilliance, is the only aspect in which the motto is true. This has been an ancient Spanish aspiration: ‘Valdés: ... and you, that the elegance of the Castilian language, amongst other things, consists in the words being full and whole; and for this reason you will always see me write words with as many letters as I can’, a spirit which, as can be seen, is diametrically opposed to that which created this language.

But Castilian linguists have had the good fortune to see their tenacious efforts crowned with success. Their language is, by far, the most sonorous, the most bombastic of the languages I know, even though it has become poor in vocabulary, and uses two negations to negate, and one must resort to circumlocutions at every turn to avoid the ambiguities of the possessive ‘su’, a stigma of childishness that Old Castilian did not possess.

I have heard people speak in various languages, so my opinion is not entirely empirical, as I would wish that of those who are to judge on this matter to be, and I can assure you that what most strikes the traveller who has not had the opportunity to hear Spanish spoken for some time is the particular sonority of this language. The abundance of its vowels, especially the ‘a’, which rings in the ear like a bell, gives the impression that those who speak it open their mouths too wide and raise their pitch; this, combined with the habit of gesturing and moving about whilst speaking—which seems innate to those who express themselves in it—gives it a certain grandiloquence, a certain emphasis and pomposity that are quite curious. But they are satisfied with it; thus, whilst the English boast of possessing the most laconic and precise of modern languages, an eminent Spanish orator says of his own: ‘Nothing is comparable to the grandiloquent and abundant verbiage of the rich and sonorous Castilian speech’. A bell. Do you hear?

Writing has also acquired a certain external embellishment, for this is the only way to describe the profusion of useless orthographic accents, not used in the writing of any other language, which Castilian employs. And there is progress in this too: Ruffino J. Cuervo adds accents to words that slipped past the Academy, and has found reasons to place two orthographic accents on some compound words.

b) The tendency of modern Spanish towards the past has a biological cause:

Reflecting on this tendency of the Latin-speaking families to look to the past—so telling to biologists—I was thinking about this very recently when a telegram informed us that a ‘Latin Congress’ had been a great success in Rome. During its sessions, attended by representatives of the Neo-Latin nations of Europe and some of the Americas, discussions and deliberations took place solely in Latin; poems were read in that language now dead forever; and a play by an authentic ancient Latin writer was performed by actors reciting in Latin, which the audience heard in Latin. The telegrams do not state the nationality of these actors, which is essential to form an idea of how the Latin would have sounded from their lips, since each of the modern nations of Europe pronounces the language of ‘Cicero’ or ‘Chichero’ as it sounds in the mouths of Italians, in their own particular way, though none as their ancient masters pronounced it. What is certain, however—and the telegram does not mention this

telegram, is that if the author of that drama were to rise from the dead to attend such a posthumous tribute, I would say, he would not have understood a word, and would have believed that, with all that affected gravity of ancient Romans adopted by the audience, they were conspiring to play a tasteless joke on him.

I know one of the Chileans who must have attended the performance, and I know that his knowledge of Latin would have been sufficient at most to utter an 'ego sum' when handing over his admission ticket; which would not have prevented him from paying close attention, nodding along and even applauding certain passages, only to go back to his hotel room and laugh heartily at the farce. How I long for Voltaire's whip to show all those comedians!

c) The need to know a Germanic language to study the modern sciences. Germans and Latins:

The scant affection I harbour for the melodious tongue of Castile stems in part from my deep conviction that it is through the Romance language we use in Chile that the most damaging error has crept in—that of believing ourselves to be of Latin race, and consequently destined to endure servitude under superior races before vanishing forever from the face of the earth. I am also convinced that as long as we Chileans are taught only Spanish, French or Italian, we will inevitably lag behind the magnificent progress of modern science.

It is as manifest an illusion to believe that Paris remains the brain of the world as it is to imagine that Rome is still its mistress. The seat of knowledge and authority on Earth has shifted in both location and race.

In recent years, the English Darwinian school, led by Herbert Spencer, has engaged in a long and illuminating debate with the German school of neo-Darwinists, headed by Weismann, concerning the mechanism by which both schools explain the transmission of life from parents to offspring, the hitherto mysterious process whereby the fusion of two microscopic cells results in a single being that reproduces the physical, moral and intellectual characteristics of the parent individuals from whom those cells were derived.

And as a corollary to that debate, the elucidation of the problem of great practical social importance as to whether or not conditions acquired by parents can be transmitted to their offspring; or, in other words, whether a man who has succeeded, for example, in strengthening his vitality or developing his muscles through appropriate practices or exercises, transmits to his children that acquired robustness with which he was not born; or whether another man, who through study and assiduous mental work has managed to increase the functional power of his brain, can father children of superior intelligence to that which they would have possessed had he not himself improved his own through exercise. The question is therefore whether education is capable of improving the human species, a thesis held by the English, or whether its power is limited

to the individual, which is the view held by the Germans, who assert that the species is modifiable only by Darwin's primitive laws of variation and selection—a doctrine to which the English themselves are now adhering.

The discussion of this problem—the most profound of all those tackled by humankind since philosophy acquired the experimental foundation provided by laboratories and the microscope, which with its powerful gaze probes the marvellous world of the infinitely small—has not been translated into any Romance language. Scholars who have not known German, English or Russian have remained in the dark regarding it.

The most serious matter is that Latin scholars seem to take no interest in this sort of research. It is a general rule that they begin their so-called sociology books by declaring that biology has nothing to do with them, and they speak the truth, as is evident from their speculations. They have ceased to mention the syllogisms, sorites and enthymemes of the ancient scholastics, but they have remained within the same metaphysics, and naturally remain at the same philosophical level as those scholars.

The fundamental works of modern knowledge, Spencer's *Biology and Psychology*, have not even been translated into Spanish or Italian, which does not prevent writers in those countries from feeling obliged to refute the doctrines of the Sublime Philosopher, whom they are incapable of understanding. It is even possible that they may find the title 'psychology' given to a work that devotes almost the entire first of its two volumes to the anatomical description and physiology of the human nervous system to be inappropriate, if not absurd, or that they may believe that experiments carried out on plants and quadrupeds can have any application to the 'featherless biped'.

There is therefore no reason to be surprised that in philology, a German science, the Latins are ignorant of their own language, and await some German scholar, as Menéndez y Pelayo says, to come and teach them in their own home.

If we persist along the Latin path down which we are being dragged, we Chileans will end up contenting ourselves with illusions and words, all believing ourselves to be prodigies of learning, as in Italy, where there is a staggering number of sociologists, but where 'sociology' no longer means what Auguste Comte, its illustrious founder, intended it to mean, but something that is fast becoming precisely the opposite; or else we shall be content to call one another 'my wise friend', 'my most learned colleague', just as the members of the Royal Society greet one another.

d) Unfounded fear:

Before concluding this letter, allow me to allay another concern of my dear friend. That good gentleman fears that if people were to become convinced that we Chileans really are a world apart on the continent, we would be left isolated, without friends, without allies. He

has been repeated so often in recent times that we must be friends with this or that people because we share the same origins, we are of the same race, we are governed by the same system of government, we speak the same language, we practise the same religion, we inhabit the same continent, our history is the same and our future will be the same, that it is not surprising my good friend should believe that all these similarities between nations are necessary for them to hold each other in mutual esteem and respect. This is the effect of the great power that words are exerting on some of our compatriots. The facts, even when they are the most obvious, exert little or no influence on their judgements, so they neither seek them out nor see them. And on this matter of friendship between peoples, there are examples so evident that they seem deliberately placed to refute that assertion: the only South American nation that had a different origin from ours, that speaks a different language and that had a different system of government at the time our sincere friendship began is the Brazilian nation, and it is precisely the nation whose people feel the most sincere affection for us, and towards which the entire people of Chile express the deepest friendship. In Europe there is no alliance stronger than that between Russia and France, which have different races, different religions, different languages, different systems of government, different customs, and the very nature of those peoples is not only different but opposed in many of its manifestations. I am inclined to believe that the proverb which says 'there is no worse wedge than one of the same wood' is truer among peoples than among individuals; but by reasoning merely in terms of words, one can prove that it is night at twelve o'clock in the day, just as the Greek Sophists proved it.

Peoples do not appreciate and love one another because of similarities in race or other such matters, but for reasons well known to all. The many such similarities invoked today as necessary reasons are merely platitudes of petty diplomacy.

Let us be serious and respectable; let us keep alive in our hearts the noble ambition to be the best, and let us spare no sacrifice in achieving it; then we shall deserve to have friends, and only then shall we have sincere ones. Yours faithfully.

e) A phrase in Chilean Spanish:

And now: "'On Calro'" has reminded you of the origin and psychological significance of our language; I hope you are not embarrassed that I have taken the liberty of writing the final reason for this letter in your legitimate dialect'.

June 1903. A

Chilean

vagabond.

Chapter VI

Ethnography. The ancestral races

1.- Goths. Physical characteristics. 2.- Moral characteristics. 3.- Araucanians. Physical characteristics.

1.- Goths. Physical characteristics.

This entire section is an extract from a study carried out in previous years. I have removed much of the anthropometric data relating to our race from the original, as subsequent studies have convinced me that it does not correspond to the average Chilean type. When discussing internal migration in Part 5 of this book, the reasons for my scepticism will become clear.

I have conducted my studies on Chilean ethnography in the province of Tarapacá, where there are Chileans from all regions of the country; but it is not the Chilean representing the average type who comes to this province, but rather the one who is most Germanised, both physically and morally. For this reason, in this part of the present book I shall focus primarily on the physical aspect, leaving the figures for a more appropriate occasion. I shall also add some general psychological traits.

I have already stated that the Visigoth was the typical representative of the Germanic race, whose principal characteristics I have recalled. The small proportion of mixed-race individuals came from the distinguished, wealthy Iberian families, who were the only ones with whom they entered into legitimate alliances.

As this is a race that has disappeared in its pure form, it can only be described through the literary accounts of those who knew them, through the sculptures depicting them, and through the features common to the entire race, which can still be seen today in those regions of Europe where Germanic blood is purest.

Although I believe that in southern Sweden and other neighbouring regions there remain to this day some genuinely Gothic physiognomic types, observing the appearance of the sculptures depicting them, it can be seen that, as a whole, the Gothic stock exhibits certain distinctive characteristics; The most readily discernible were: the slant of the eyebrow, the outer end of which is lower than the inner part or the part near the nose; they had drooping eyebrows, as we commonly say. This feature is very noticeable in the Gothic prisoners depicted on the relief of a 3rd-century Roman sarcophagus, reproduced in engraving in Bradley's work. It can likewise be seen on the medallion of the sarcophagus of Stilicho and his wife in St

Ambrosius of Milan. Stilicho was of Vandal descent. The portrait of his wife has a very drooping eyebrow. The Gothic saints or figures with Gothic features on the portico of León Cathedral in Spain also display this distinctive trait. Another very common feature among the Goths was wavy or even curly hair. The two previous characteristics are found throughout the Germanic race, but only sporadically, whereas among the Goths they were very common.

The Goth was hairy and grew sideburns. In Spain, this was also the custom until the 15th century, by which time some men were growing moustaches. They, at least those in Spain, held the belief that there was a certain connection between the development of a man's body hair and his manly qualities: 'a man must be hairy,' said the conquerors of America. This was the opposite of what the Araucanians believed, who carefully plucked the few hairs from their faces.

Their hair was blond, perhaps in all shades, as in the rest of the race; but their moustaches and beards were of a more vivid colour, tending towards red. I recalled that the Araucanians called the conquistadors 'red beards'. Facial hair is generally of a more vivid colour throughout the blond race of Europe.

We know they were tall, but their exact height has not yet been established. The average Scandinavian height is currently between one metre sixty-seven centimetres and one metre seventy (1.67–1.70 m) according to Ripley. The average height of the conquistadors was two Castilian varas, which is slightly over one metre sixty-seven centimetres (1.672). This general assessment probably took into account the Iberian race, which is short.

There are many historical accounts of very tall men among the Goths, but there are also records of short men, such as Eberwulf, the assassin of King Ataulf in Barcelona, during the period of greatest internal strife among the Visigoths.

The most common facial features among them, as seen in almost all the statues and reliefs depicting them, were those of a broad, short oval face. The facial structure was well-developed, without prognathism. A broad forehead, a slightly underdeveloped, arched nose of medium or low height, without being flat, and cheekbones that were defined without being prominent. The Ercilla type. The lower part of his face was covered by his beard. Blue eyes, translucent skin, without pigment, like the rest of his race.

The Goth was, therefore, what we might describe in four words and in everyday terms as a snub-nosed, broad-cheeked, side-burned fellow. That was, as I say, the general type. There also existed, especially among the nobility, the oval-faced type, with finer features, a straight, somewhat hooked nose, more prominent than in the general population, of which Don Diego Portales's nose may give an idea. I recall that a distinctly hooked nose was exceptional. There must also have been the type of nose that was very low in the middle with a rounded, protruding tip; what French ethnographers call a 'nez cave', or sunken nose. This type of nose is found in Europe only among Germanic peoples, and among very fair-haired or dark-skinned individuals. In Chile, where this type also exists, we call it 'ñato petizo' or simply 'petizo'.

The shape of the Visigoth's head was oblong. The skeletons found in Gothic graves show a cranial index of less than 76. Modern Swedes have 77, according to Ripley. The blondes of Chile are also the most dolichocephalic of our race. A small sample of 30 of the fairest-haired individuals gave me a cephalic index of 77.8, which translates to just over 76 as a cranial index.

As for the Gothic woman, she must have resembled those of the other Germanic lineages. The depictions that remain of them, especially in Spain, confirm this assumption. As the only fair-haired lineage to have come to Chile is the Gothic, Chilean blondes, although they are of mixed race, are characterised, especially those from the countryside, by their greater height than the average Chilean woman, which is 1.54 m, blue eyes, a long neck, sloping shoulders, a gentle nature and a very pronounced femininity.

As for the Germanic traits of the conquerors of the Americas, and particularly those of Chile, there is ample evidence to support them.

Two of their most characteristic and easily discernible physical features—their height and the colour of their necks—appear constantly in literary descriptions and in the portraits depicting them.

González de Nájera, an observant man, though a scoundrel, says that the conquerors of Chile were much taller than the Araucanians and more robust (op. cit., p. 39).

Anyone visiting the art galleries of southern European countries with the aim of studying ethnic physiognomies is struck by the curious fact that all the portraits of figures from the former nobility of those countries depict blond, blue-eyed individuals. It is rare to find anyone with brown hair. Their features and bodily proportions are, moreover, perfectly Germanic. This is true not only of portraits of the titled nobility, but of any notable man who has been portrayed, so that, after spending some time studying historical physiognomies, one steps out onto the street and finds oneself in the presence of individuals completely different from those depicted by the artists, and one becomes convinced that the portraits and the living belong to two entirely distinct races. This is more noticeable in Italy and Spain than in France.

The conquerors of Chile were almost entirely fair-haired, and those who were not displayed the Germanic trait of their tall stature. I also recalled earlier what I think of some of those tall, dark-haired conquerors.

The Araucanians, who were keen observers, once mistook some Gothic shipwrecked sailors for the English, whom they knew well. A ship carrying conquistadors, which I believe was coming from the Peninsula, was forced to call at a port south of the Bío-Bío, and to avoid an attack by the Indians, they pretended to be Englishmen who did not understand Castilian. The Indians believed them, but later realised they had been deceived; consequently, when some pirates—real Englishmen—arrived shortly afterwards, the Araucanians did not believe them and gave them a sound thrashing. This happened at the end of the 16th century (Mariño de Lovera, op. cit., p. 397).

Such a thing could happen not only to the Araucanians. The same thing happened to an educated Englishman. In one of London's museums, the National Gallery, under number 1376, there is one of Velázquez's greatest paintings, 'A Duel in the Prado', in which there are some ten figures, including duelists, witnesses, friars and doctors, etc. I covered the artist's signature with my catalogue and asked my companion on the visit—an educated Englishman who had travelled widely—about the nationality of the people depicted in the painting. 'English,' he replied without hesitation. He then named several other Germanic nationalities. When I told him they were portraits of Spaniards, he could not believe it until I explained the matter to him.

We have already seen that Abbot Gómez states that the mestizos differed from the Spaniards only in that the former had black, straight and thick hair, which indirectly implies that the latter had blonde, wavy and fine hair.

The daughters of the conquistadors, the Creoles, were blonde. González de Nájera confirms this of those from the 17th century (op. cit., p. 70). In the following century, Abbot Gómez said:

'It must be said of Chilean women that they are generally beautiful, of good figure and proportionate to their sex, with a pinkish-white complexion and long, blonde, fine hair'.

(op. cit., p. 297)

Many other accounts could be cited to confirm what these authors have stated.

2. Goths. Moral characteristics.

Ethnographers today attach great importance to psychological traits as distinguishing features of races. In our case, these traits carry particular evidential weight. A love of combat in its most genuine form—war—is something that cannot be feigned, and in this respect it serves as much, if not more, than physical features in characterising the race to which the conquerors belonged.

Another such trait, equally telling, is the contempt of warrior peoples for manual trades, for commerce and for scholars. We shall see these traits of nobility very clearly in the following pages.

All chroniclers speak without exception of the nobility of the first conquistadors. By nobility, they understood not noble titles, but descent from the hidalgos. The same blood flowed through the veins of those who continued to arrive. Regarding the contingent brought by Monroy from Peru, Mariño de Lovera (op. cit., p. 86) says, after naming several by name: 'And many other noblemen, numbering one hundred and thirty in total', which was the total size of that contingent.

Historians and chroniclers say much the same, without dwelling on it particularly, but rather it is woven into their narratives as something natural and known to all. The historian Olivares, speaking of the qualities that foreign missionaries sent to Chile in his time should possess, states that they must be 'chosen for their learning and experience', since this province (Chile) is 'so vast and full of noble people' ('History of the Society of Jesus', Collection, vol. 7, p. 12). In those days (the 18th century), the terms 'noble', 'knight' or 'hidalgo' were not applied to anyone but those of noble lineage; scrupulous care was taken in this regard. Perhaps with this in mind, the frequently cited historian, Carvallo y Goyeneche, states in note 104 at the end of the first volume of his work:

'One should not be surprised by the title of "knights" which, it seems, is applied too generally to the inhabitants of La Serena and which must also be understood to apply to the other cities of Chile. The sovereign himself qualifies their nobility and provides scope for this expression. In a Royal Decree issued in Valladolid on 21 April 1557, which is found in Book 3 of the capital's provisions, on folio 182 verso, it states... 'The towns of Chile are populated by noble people'..."

I have already indicated the reason for the selection process applied to the people who came to Chile at that time. Thanks to the heroism of the Araucanians, no men came here other than those who could measure themselves against them.

The conscription or recruitment of men for the war in Arauco took place on the Peninsula and in America to the beat of the drum. They were volunteers; the soldier usually had to pay for his own weapons and equipment. Of these soldiers, one may say what the literary executor of the aforementioned chronicler Mariño de Lovera, Fray Bartolomé de Escobar, says:

'But as Don Pedro was so fond of arms, and learnt that in the Kingdom of Chile there was no small amount of work to be done in this regard due to the constant wars between the native Indians of the land and the few Spaniards, he set out for there, where he arrived in the year fifty-one.'

The critical executor adds:

“And although his language and style of writing, apart from being that ordinarily used by the people of Galicia, were those of a man more skilled in arms than in books.”

It was that Spanish caste, warriors by inclination, who came to our distant land.

The artisans, merchants and scholars, who made up the other group from the peninsula, had no reason to come. Those who ventured here during a period of truce, or those who were sometimes brought here by force, would flee from here as soon as the truce was broken, to Argentina, Peru or their motherland, ‘some in their own clothes and others in the habit of a friar’, says González de Nájera (op. cit., p. 162). This author also says, reflecting on Chile’s pleasant climate, that the only people in the hospital are those who feign illness out of fear. On page 157, González relates that the inhabitants of Santiago and other cities went out to war every spring; it was not an obligation, but it would have been shameful to excuse oneself, so they presented themselves with their sons capable of bearing arms, whose numbers were proportionate to the ‘native’ population of those times: Father Ovalle (Volume 12, p. 307) states that one spring General Don Luis de las Cuevas presented himself with eight adult sons ‘to the royal army, in which they served His Majesty for many years at their own expense, for in those days the encomenderos and their sons had no other pay than the loyalty and glory of serving their king’. Even the priests themselves were sometimes forced to take up arms.

The harsh conditions of the war being waged in Chile at that time, beyond all measure, led to the most rigorous selection among those who were our forefathers. It was not only the ceaseless battles of that endless war, which already excluded the peaceful Spanish race, but the sufferings, the hunger, the nakedness, the hardships—as they called them—that exerted a selective influence within the warrior caste itself. Chronicles recount numerous instances of desertion by soldiers and even officers for these reasons: ‘The hardships of war, most invincible Caesar, men can endure, for it is the soldier’s honour to die fighting; but to suffer the pangs of hunger alongside them, they must be more than men,’ wrote Valdivia to Charles V in a letter from La Serena.

However enthusiastic those warriors may have been upon their arrival from Spain, Italy or Flanders, the mere march on foot from Buenos Aires to Santiago was enough to dishearten many. Two hundred men deserted Sotomayor out of the six hundred chosen men he had brought from Spain.

That first test of endurance before entering our country became so well known that in a report submitted to the king in 1752, in which five hundred soldiers were requested, he was warned to send them via Cape Horn to Concepción, for if they came via Buenos Aires, not fifty would arrive.

It is known that at one time, sending them to the Arauco War was a way of punishing troublemakers from the other colonies.

It is easy to understand why only warriors came.

Merchants, artisans and scholars—at least the first two categories—are so useful in any society, however fledgling it may be; thus their absence was keenly felt in the colony, which is why its rulers often, though unsuccessfully, requested that the King of Spain send some.

Don Francisco Lazo de la Vega, aware of the need in Chile for men of Spanish stock, sought to bring some over by force, but failed to do so, as the Count of Chinchón, who was on his way to Peru as viceroy, persuaded them to go with him to Lima. In a letter to the King dated in this city, whilst en route to Chile, where he was bound as governor (1629), he reported on his failed attempt in these terms:

‘Having been informed of the measures taken in Spain by order of Your Majesty to prevent people from embarking without a licence, so as not to depopulate the country, and having learnt that a number were travelling without one (on the very galleons on which he and the Count of Chinchón were making the journey from Europe to take up their respective posts), and since the course they were taking was to cross over to this kingdom (Peru), I asked the viceroy that a list of them be drawn up in Panama and that they be sent to Chile, for this would yield many benefits for Your Majesty’s service, such as bringing people to a place where there is such great need and where they are so reluctant to go, and that this was paid for at his own expense up to that point, and that in this way it would be prevented that in subsequent years they might embark contrary to Your Majesty’s order, for the news of taking them to that kingdom would cause those who intended to do so to desist from the attempt.

I reminded him of this again in Panama. It seemed the right time then, and since he did not carry it out, he agreed to something else. I felt I had missed such a good opportunity, and all the more so now, for my suspicion that people here are being misled about Chile has proved true; for as this place (Lima) is a haven where those fleeing their war rest and describe their comforts so poorly, others are deterred from going to suffer them.

Regarding Chile’s reputation, Don Diego Barros says:

‘It was said of it in Spain and in America that it possessed fertile soil and a mild climate, but that its mines yielded little gold, and that its indigenous people were stubborn and ferocious savages with whom it was necessary to wage a struggle accompanied by the greatest hardships, and for which no end was in sight.’

Mariño de Lovera, referring to the tasks that the noble conquistadors had to perform, due to the lack of craftsmen, says that those wounded in battle were treated 'by no other surgeons than the soldiers themselves, for all the men of this kingdom are as skilled in this as if they had no other trade, having necessity as their teacher, which has instructed them in many other similar skills; and so one will scarcely find a soldier who does not know how to treat a horse; to fit a saddle; to shoe a horse without error as others usually do; to bleed a man and a horse; and indeed some know how to sow and plough; to build a wall; to roof a room; to fit a scabbard to their sword; and to pad a coat of mail; along with many other similar trades which they never learnt in their lives' (vol. 6, p. 322).

González de Nájera, who wrote, as I have recalled, in the early 17th century, says that the soldier must prepare at home, before setting out on campaign, dried meat, flour, lard, tents, ironwork, sickles, etc., everything necessary to sustain himself for six months, 'because none of these things are to be found or sold in Chile, but it is necessary for each man to make them at home' (op. cit., p. 157).

In the early days, when it was believed that the Araucanians would be defeated sooner or later, some craftsmen came, but as soon as they realised that these Indians were not like those in the rest of the continent, they turned back any way they could. From the sections of the Santiago Town Council Minutes copied below, one can see what happened in this regard. The reasons given by the town councillors for retaining the craftsmen were precisely what intimidated them most:

Town Council meeting of 31 January 1553:

'On this day, it was ordered that Zamora, the blacksmith, be notified that, as it has come to our attention that he wishes to leave this city, and if he were to leave, this city would be left without a blacksmith, and there would be no one to repair the tools for extracting gold and other items in this city, etc.; that he should not leave this city without a licence from this Town Council, on pain of a fine of five hundred gold pesos to be paid to His Majesty's treasury, for public works and for the main church of this city, and furthermore that they would go after him and bring him back to this city at his own expense; and so they ordered it.'

At the Town Council meeting of 20 July 1554, when news of Valdivia's death began to arrive, it was reported that several craftsmen wished to leave Santiago, but the councillors refused them permission. The Minutes state:

'On this day, requests were made for licences to travel to Peru on the ship that is now departing, and they were told that for the time being there is no room until a ship arrives from Peru, because news has come today that the land up there is in great need, and it is even said that the Christians there have been killed; and if this is true, there will be great need in the land, and for this reason the response was given as such, until we see what happens; and in particular, permission was granted to Juan Martín, a carpenter, to depart, because he presented a royal warrant in which His Majesty commands that he may go if he wishes.'

It is clear that Master Martín had foreseen this situation.

The same thing happened with the merchants, whom the Goths always viewed with suspicion and contempt, traits typical of a warrior people, and whose scientific justification I shall address later.

Merchants also arrived in the early years of the conquest. Villagra brought some twenty from Peru when he was sent by Valdivia in search of aid. Merchants who fled Chile as soon as they realised that this was not a country for business but for battles—which are quite different matters. Góngoras Marmolejo reports that two of them remained in Chile:

‘It was God’s will,’ says the chronicler, ‘that one of them should die at the hands of the Indians a most cruel death, and the other lived a few days in poverty, when he could have lived in wealth in Peru.’

Even a century after the founding of Santiago, it can be said that Spanish merchants settled in Chile only in very small numbers. Father Ovalle states (vol. 12, p. 281) that when he left Santiago in 1641, there were some twelve merchants’ shops in the capital. It is quite possible that of those twelve, many were not mestizos but pure-blooded nobles, for the need for merchants was felt very early on, which led some from the noble class to enter the trade, much to the scandal, of course, of the other nobles. In a note from the Royal Audience to the King of Spain in 1611, it complained, amongst other serious irregularities in this kingdom of Chile, that ‘some captains and soldiers had become traders and shopkeepers’. Núñez de Pineda, a few years later, stated that the injustice of certain governors of Chile had ‘reduced some veteran soldiers, aged in the service of His Majesty, to the status of traders, shopkeepers and merchants’ (op. cit., p.

369). The number of merchants increased gradually throughout the 17th century and into the early 18th, but as the material and moral conditions of the country remained the same, it is reasonable to believe that these merchants were Chilean, at least for the most part.

The nobility of Santiago always looked down upon the merchants; their family ties were separate, and even in churches they occupied different seats. There was a guild of knights and a guild of merchants (Ovalle, vol. 13, p. 217). Diego García Villalón, in a report on the rights of certain indigenous people, stated quite matter-of-factly that on one occasion ‘a large supply of weapons and ironwork, war equipment, people and merchants’ had arrived in Valdivia (‘Documentos’, vol. 12, p. 162).

It was after the Peace of Negrete, in 1726, that Iberian immigrants began to arrive, devoting themselves to trade. 'Spanish men of the lower class are less occupied. They live off the petty trade of shops and taverns,' says Carvallo y Goyeneche, referring to Chilean social life in that century (vol. 10, p. 52).

A century earlier, we had a narrow escape. Following the Peace of Quilín (1640), which was believed to be definitive, as the Araucanians had achieved what they wanted, the governor, López de Zúñiga, requested a thousand people from Spain to be distributed among the towns most in need of non-military personnel. Spain's war with Portugal, and Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who assembled a fleet to plunder the Spanish colonies, made it impossible to fulfil that governor's wishes. Before these difficulties had ceased, the upheaval that drove away from Chile the immigration of people who might bastardise our race had already begun anew in Arauco.

On several occasions, the Chilean nobility witnessed very telling examples of the governing abilities possessed by merchants. The quality of the men who came from the metropolis to govern the American colonies reflected the state of affairs there. The most famous of these merchant governors was a certain Mr Ustariz, a failed merchant in Spain, who bought the post of governor of Chile and

'governed' it in his own way from 1709 to 1717. A man 'of affable manner, neither vindictive nor arrogant, and far removed from inflated vanity, compassionate and very inclined to favour his fellow man', says Carvallo of him. Appointed specifically to put a stop to the constant smuggling by French and English privateers, Ustariz took such effective measures that his services were acknowledged in fourteen royal decrees.

When the court deemed it necessary to investigate the numerous complaints it was receiving regarding the governor's hypocrisy, it appointed Don José de Santiago Concha, a trusted confidant of Lima, to come and conduct an inquiry into the matter. The judge found that what had actually happened was that Ustariz was dealing directly with the smugglers, having monopolised the trade. It was also established that the merchant-governor sold public offices, sent royal cattle to be sold as far away as Bolivia, and left no act of embezzlement or fraud uncommitted; he brought a host of sons, nephews and friends, among whom he distributed the most important posts; he plundered everything he could, threw everything into disarray, paid money to the Araucanians so that they would let him 'govern' in peace, and it is said that, if they do not stop him, he will leave the kingdom stripped bare. Córdova y Figueroa, who devotes a few pages to this period of our history, says that the offences were so numerous and so grave, 'that they are to be seen in court, rather than recounted in history'. The times are catching up.

The literati, in the sense given to the term by the Goths—that is, persons whose sole occupation was the arts of letters, a category which included lawyers, scribes, notaries, secretaries, editors, etc.—were likewise looked down upon for the reason stated earlier.

Valdivia had two secretaries: the bachelor Cardaña, his private secretary, and a certain González, tutor to Inés de Suárez. It is known that Valdivia received numerous complaints regarding the bachelor's conduct. In the subsequent trial, one of the witnesses, Castañeda, stated that he regarded Cardaña as 'a charlatan and a vain man'. Cardaña, like the other Iberians who ventured to come in the early years, made a fortune after his master's death.

Among the judges, Iberian lawyers often came, but there were also those of noble birth, from among those on the Peninsula who were beginning to devote themselves to scholarship. Among these, the most famous was Merlo de la Fuente, acting governor in 1610, a man of some years, devoted to learning since his youth, though of Gothic descent. He momentarily laid down his pen for the sword, and wielded it as skilfully as if it had been his life's work. He defeated the Araucanians in several battles and secured a victory over the Purén people in the very plains of Lumaco, the 'Araucanian Rocheta', as the chroniclers called it, hitherto regarded as an impregnable stronghold of the indomitable Conas of Purén. Yet alongside judges of noble lineage, scholars of Iberian descent often took their seats. The customs of these lawyers, so at odds with those of the warrior nobles over whom they held authority, established from the outset a marked antagonism between the two groups, and served as a constant source of discord.

Núñez de Pineda, who rose to the highest rank in the Chilean Army, echoing that rivalry between those who fought for their king and those who reaped the benefits, says:

'One of the poorest and most frugal magistrates in Chile possesses more wealth in jewellery and household goods than all the captains and generals of the Army put together.'

On the following page (401), he complains that in his time scribes, lawyers, barristers, etc., were arriving in greater numbers than was appropriate, and he refers to them as 'the moths and woodworms of our Christian monarchy'. Our Catholic Monarchs and lords, at the outset of this conquest, had foreseen these wretched times, for they ordered, not once but repeatedly, that no lawyers or litigators should come to these parts, 'for many would arise from the arrival of even one'. Indeed, the Spanish sovereigns tried in every way to prevent professional lawyers from coming to the Indies. Charles V, among the instructions he gave to Alvar Núñez, told him 'not to tolerate the presence of lawyers or solicitors in the province, for experience had taught him that they were a great hindrance to the progress of the colonies'. (Coroleu, *América*, vol. I, p. 322).

This rivalry between the intelligentsia and the military, which in Chile at that time was a racial rivalry, persisted in our country until independence; and after a truce of nearly a century, it has now resurfaced quite clearly—not, I believe, because of ethnic antagonisms, but because of the particularly regressive evolution of the ruling class's mindset. Many of the most bizarre actions of our Government regarding the attention our armed forces deserve and the fate of the Chileans who make up those forces must be attributed to this very new spirit, so contrary to the character of our people. With regard to the law on compensation for survivors of the War of the Pacific, this antagonism has been very palpable between the lawyers who have reaped the benefits of that war's victories and the very men who brought it to its glorious conclusion. It has always been the custom in all countries to ensure a livelihood as comfortable as the State's resources permit for the nation's soldiers and their descendants; this is done with wise foresight, for the expenses

it entails are not only just, but are intended to promote the perpetuation of the families who have provided their sons for the defence of the country; for it is a dangerous utopia, and patently false, to believe that we have now reached a time when international differences will be settled with the stroke of a pen, and that consequently only scribes should have the perpetuation of their lineage assured for the effective defence of a nation.

3. The Araucanians. Physical characteristics.

As for the Araucanians, their physical features are well known to us all. Clearly American or Mongoloid, as some call it, it is fairly uniform in stature and facial features.

Two types, however, can be distinguished among them: one with a narrow, straight bridge of the nose and thinner lips than the other, who has a blunt, undulating nose that is lower than that of the former type. The latter also has a shorter face than the other. Intermediate types are very numerous.

Some chroniclers from the 18th century onwards speak of very light-skinned, white Indians, who were undoubtedly mestizos, as the historian Olivares states:

‘For if we consider the long line of descendants of the Spanish captives among the Indians, it would not be an exaggeration to say that they now make up a quarter of the population of that nation.’

(Collection, Volume IV, p. 252).

Today, the brick-red colour of their skin has become uniform thanks to the absorption of European blood.

The fair-haired, blue-eyed Boroanos are a separate case of Gothic miscegenation.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the Araucanian has coarser features than many of the other indigenous peoples of America. The Quechua, the Aymara, the Aztec and many others possess a finer face, a more prominent and even hooked nose.

It is worth repeating that the pure-bred Araucanian has not existed in historical times except between Aconcagua and Valdivia, and has already intermingled as far as Bueno, and that he has never reached the summit of the Cordillera, let alone the Argentine Pampas. During the time they were separated from the invaders by the Bío-Bío, the centre of their homeland, their 'admapu', was the Nahuelbuta mountain range.

A rather stocky build for his height; short, thick hands and feet, well-proportioned limbs. Black, straight, stiff, abundant hair; sparse or no beard. Body hair poorly developed. Eyes black, small, compared to European races. Eyebrows thick, straight, with a slight, if barely perceptible, upward curve at the outer edge in rare specimens. Mouth, lips, teeth without any particular distinguishing features among the great American subspecies.

His forehead is broad but low, especially at the sides, where the scalp begins slightly above the eyebrows. It is a 'shoe-shaped' forehead, as Gómez puts it. The facial skeleton is well-developed, but without prognathism. The general appearance of his face is severe without being harsh. González de Nájera compares them to the designs on ancient Roman medals. There is in their gaze, which is direct and frank, a certain steadiness, a certain calm that gives it a slight tinge of sadness. They smile little, laugh rarely.

A study of his psychology deserves a book of its

own. The main figures of his ethnography are:

Height: male, 162 cm.

Height: female, 146 cm.

Cranial index (Retzius): male, 82.7 cm. Cranial

index (Retzius): female, 83.0 cm. Nasal index:

47.2 cm.

Orbital index: 89.8 cm

Facial index (glabella-chin): 99.6 cm. Cranial

capacity: male, 1,420 cm³. Cranial capacity:

female, 1,340 cm³. (Hovelacque and Hervé for

cranial capacity)

Chapter VII

The Mestizo

1. Description. 2. Some special types. 3. European and Chilean mixed-race people. 4. Black people. Acclimatisation. 5. The Chilean is not handsome.

1. Description.

This description does not take into account foreigners, nor their children born in the country, nor the first-generation mestizos of those foreigners.

A mestizo race formed from two others as dissimilar in appearance as the Gothic and the Araucanian, it exhibits the characteristics of both combined in the most varied proportions. From the Mestizo with an apparently pure Araucanian appearance to the fair-haired Mestizo with a distinctly Germanic appearance, the gradations are as numerous as one can conceive. However, there is a very numerous intermediate type with the combined features of both parents, without it being easy to say which of the two is predominant.

The Chilean race may therefore be considered divided into three groups, for the sake of a clear description.

As the most dissimilar characteristics between the Godoy and the Araucanians were the colour of their skin, eyes and hair, I shall divide the three groups according to the colour of the iris, the complexion and the hair.

For eye colour, I shall follow Beddoe's method, as it is the one best suited to our case, setting aside the extensive scale devised by Broca, and even the simplified ones of Fowler and Hovelacque. Beddoe divides eye colour into just three categories: light, dark, and intermediate. The first category includes light blue or bluish eyes; the second, those referred to as black, although their true colour is dark roasted brown; the third, all those that do not clearly belong to either of the previous categories, and in which the shades of both are combined in varying proportions, forming green or greenish, brown and yellowish colours of various shades.

In Chile, only two hair colours correspond to these three divisions of eye colour: those with light eyes have blond or castilian hair; the other two groups have black hair, but the intermediate group does not have black eyebrows.

The first group, with blue irises in all shades (Bertillon's series A, B, C, D), makes up 10.5% of the population.

Their hair is well developed; blonde or chestnut, fine, often wavy and even curly; abundant, blonde eyebrows, of a brighter colour than the hair, especially the moustaches, which tend towards red. Their complexion, though fair, lacks the translucency of the blondes of northern Europe, except in very few families. This group is more common in the countryside of the central and southern provinces of Chile. Thus, whilst in Santiago it accounts for only 8%, in some rural sub-districts of the territory between the Rapel and Itata rivers, that percentage exceeds 18%.

The origin of this group is due to the intermarriage of Europeans with mestizos over successive generations, to the extent that the offspring have come to exhibit a predominance of Germanic features.

The second group makes up 19% of the population and consists of individuals with black hair and eyes. The hair is entirely black, thick and straight; facial hair is black and sparse, and their moustaches consist of stiff, horsehair-like strands. Their complexion is completely opaque and reddish in colour, reminiscent of that of the Araucanian, though lighter.

The third group is intermediate between the previous two; in terms of both numbers and features, it is the true representative of the Chilean race. It makes up around 70% of the country's Chilean population.

Their hair is blond or brown in childhood, but darkens to black between the ages of seven and fifteen; it is straight, not very flexible, and rarely wavy; their sideburns, of varying thickness, are usually black or dark; their moustache, which is always grown, is never black but yellowish or reddish, sometimes dark, as if streaked, with red strands. The colour of their irises is the intermediate type described by Beddoe; in some, this colour is a sombre yellowish or greenish hue. To appreciate this, it is necessary to look at him in full light and from a distance of about one metre, as Broca advises. It is because this advice is not followed, and because of the haste with which conscripts' classifications are made—or perhaps due to a lack of guidance on the matter—that a higher proportion of black eyes appears in the records than is actually the case. The skin colour of Chileans in this group covers a wide range, ranging from the slightly translucent white of the fair-haired, blue-eyed individuals to the Mongoloid hue characteristic of the second group.

In general, the skin colour of this race is darker than that of the white races of Europe. From a distance, it resembles the complexion of the swarthy families of southern Europe, but up close substantial differences are apparent: the dark-skinned European is pale, his eyes and moustache are perfectly black, whereas in the Chilean the American brick-red pigment is always easy to notice, as it gives the Chilean's complexion a more or less pronounced but constant reddish tinge, which the southern European never possesses. Their irises and moustaches, which are never black, also establish the ethnic difference.

We have already seen that the naturalist Gómez de Vidaurre states that the mestizo he met in the mid-18th century was 'generally white like the Spaniards' and that his hair was 'straight, thick and black'. A century earlier (around 1645), Ovalle, speaking of the

of the Araucanians' hair, rightly attributes that colour in the hair of the mestizos, his contemporaries, to indigenous heritage, regarding it as the sole distinguishing feature between them and their Gothic forefathers. He says, on p. 166, volume 12 of the Collection:

'Thus, the mestizos, who are the children of a Spaniard and an Indian woman, can be distinguished from pure Spaniards—the children of a Spaniard and a Spanish woman—only by their hair, which does not change until the second or third generation.'

That black hair colour of the mestizo was very noticeable in the times when those authors wrote, for the Spaniards living in Chile at that time were, as we know, almost entirely fair-haired. Gómez says that this hair colour of the mestizo persists 'even after several generations'. Ovalle speaks of two or three; my personal experience and the findings of biology support Ovalle: I believe that three generations on one side are sufficient to produce a mestizo who is perfectly fair-haired and possesses the other Germanic features. As one can understand, there are many factors to take into account here, which may cause this assessment to vary.

Since moustache colour is one of the most characteristic features of the broad central core of the race, adult men must be studied for its assessment. Women often appear, for this reason, more Araucanian than men.

The Chilean's eyes are not notable for their size. They are horizontal, as are their eyebrows, which appear somewhat drooping, like the Gothic type, in some families.

Their forehead is never receding, though not always high. Exceptions of a backward-sloping forehead are extremely rare, and I believe them to be of Iberian origin, as they are always accompanied by other features characteristic of that race.

We Chileans are not a people with prominent noses. The height of the nose ranges, in the vast majority of cases, from small to medium. High noses are exceptional, and hooked noses, though very rare, are of Iberian origin when not accompanied by obvious Germanic features. The bridge of the nose is curved; it forms a straight line only in a small minority of cases. The appearance of the nose—somewhat concave, small, with a rounded tip, which accounts for a significant proportion—is very different from that found in some Blacks or Mulattos; but it is difficult to specify these details in writing. If I am ever able to fulfil my wish to produce the present work, these and other details of their physiognomy will be visible in photogravures and plates, which so richly illustrate these studies. In tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed individuals, the nose is also small or medium-sized, and often bilobed, that is, it has a small bulge at its tip. In these same individuals, the chin or beard also has a small indentation in its middle, the 'dimpled chin' of ethnographers.

Nor do we have thin lips, though their thickness is not particularly noticeable. Thin lips in Europe are a southern trait. There are several Iberian lineages with thin lips. The human family with the thinnest lips

thin is the Etruscan, as can be seen in the numerous drawings and statues of that race that have come down to us. Their present-day descendants, the Italians of the centre of the peninsula, are also the Europeans with the thinnest lips, and I even believe they are the thinnest of the entire present-day human race. The mouths of Chileans are of medium size, tending more towards large than small.

The general appearance of the features is not that of a handsome man. Without being truly prognathic, his face is somewhat large in relation to the head; he is megalognathic. The facial skeleton is solid and well-defined. The oval of the face is medium or short. The few individuals with elongated faces, when not accompanied by well-defined Germanic features—which is rare—are of Iberian origin or other origins foreign to the progenitors of our race.

‘Their bodies, in general, are well-built,’ says Gómez of the mestizos of the century before last. We remain so for the most part. Without being slender, the Chilean’s stature is quite distinct from that of the Araucanian, being closer to that of the Visigoth. I have already noted that for a man to be considered well-built in those days, he had to be two varas tall. The proportions of the limbs, such as those of the hands and feet, are also more Gothic than Araucanian.

This particular trait of inheriting the paternal skeletal structure rather than the maternal one was also noted by Father Ovalle. The author’s earlier quotation regarding the persistence of hair colour in mestizos as a distinguishing feature between them and their parents concludes as follows: ‘In all other respects there is no difference whatsoever, neither in facial features, nor in stature and vigour, nor in manner of speech’. Perhaps Gómez, as a naturalist, was more precise when he said ‘generally’ in addressing this point. As an indication that Ovalle was generalising too much, one may note that he used the term ‘faiciones’ and implicitly asserts that the mestizos spoke in this manner, when it is certain that many would have said ‘fauciones’. In any case, it can be asserted that the differences between father and son would not be notable in this respect.

The above observations are general for the entire race, but apply especially to the intermediate group, the most genuinely Chilean.

Some anthropometric data: Height,

male: 1,666 millimetres Height,

female: 1,540 millimetres Cephalic

index: 79.5 cranial - 78

Orbital index: 86

Nasal index: 47

Facial index (brow-chin): 98.5

These are measurements taken from living subjects. The height of the men is that of the twenty-year-old conscripts of 1901. It is not, therefore, that of a fully grown man. Furthermore, due to rumours of international complications that year, many individuals who were not yet 19 or even 18 years old registered, so this figure is lower than the actual height of the Chilean population in this province. Generally speaking, it can be said that blondes are taller than the rest, and that those with black eyes are the shortest. I have found here no more than two men under 1.55 metres in height. Both were from Chiloé, one with black eyes and the other with medium-coloured eyes. Nor are there many very tall men; a height of 1.80 metres is very rare; I have measured only one man at 1.83 metres.

2. Some special types.

In addition to the three groups described, there are a very small number of old Chilean families with Arabic surnames, although, as already mentioned in the previous section, such surnames are not a reliable indication that they belong to that race.

One of Valdivia's companions was called Juan de Almonacir, and it is recorded that he was of noble birth despite his Arabic surname.

This record is found in a report on the services of that captain, who already had married children in 1575, a time when people did not keep an exact count of the number of children they had, as can be inferred from question 17 of that report, in which the witness is asked to state whether it is true that the captain had 'ten or twelve children' ('Documentos', vol. 12, p. 423).

Nevertheless, there are some families, particularly a very well-known one that has produced illustrious commanders for our army and professionals in all fields, who have distinctly Semitic features, albeit combined with a tall stature. It is therefore not unlikely that some warriors of that lineage may have come along with their Germanic compatriots.

There are also families in which the dark-haired and fair-haired types mix with difficulty, with fair-haired and dark-haired siblings appearing in the family, usually without an intermediate type. Both the fair-haired and the dark-haired retain the opposite trait to the one they manifest, so that a dark-haired individual from such families may have fair-haired children, just as a fair-haired one may have dark-haired ones. There are some six such well-defined lineages in the country, which possess a strong ability to pass on their distinctive traits. I have studied these families at length and am convinced that they are of European origin. I have historical data on some of them that confirm this. Furthermore, their anthropometric characteristics point in the same direction. The dark-skinned individuals in these families are dolichocephalic (77), whereas the dark-skinned individuals of Araucanian origin have the highest cephalic index in our race. The blond-haired members of these families are often very fair-haired and even red-haired; their irises are rarely blue, usually being a fawn-yellow or greenish; their skin is dotted with freckles, and—curiously—the dark-skinned individuals themselves often have them too. There are many issues surrounding the ethnic origin of these

families, but the presence of these freckles convinces me that there is something of a Celtic nature in them.

The characteristics of the parents do not always appear in the mixed-race offspring blended or combined in the same way. A tall, fair-haired race and a short, dark-haired one, such as those from which we are descended, may produce in their union either a short, fair-haired offspring or a tall, dark-haired one. The same applies to other traits, and this holds true not only for physical characteristics but also for moral and intellectual ones.

The physiognomy and skeleton of our race, from the shape of the skull to that of the feet, being more similar to the paternal race than to the maternal, might lead one to think that the European nature predominates in us; however, given what I have noted regarding the unpredictable way in which the characteristics of the parents combine, one cannot be certain of the predominance of either of the parent races in the Chilean. Stature may have been influenced by the selection for military service to which our race has been subject since its inception: given that in the struggles of that time muscular strength was of great importance—which is usually associated with stature—it is natural that the tallest, the most robust, as they used to say, were the preferred candidates for the military, and for the special reproductive privileges enjoyed by the military.

3.- European mestizos and Chilean mestizos.

The Germanic invasions of southern Europe have produced mestizos there who bear some resemblance to us in terms of hair colour, as this was a cross between the fair-haired race of the north and the black-haired race of the south. The differences between those mestizos and ourselves are difficult to discern for anyone not accustomed to such studies. The two most notable differences between the black-haired people of southern Europe and the Araucanians of the same hair colour are the shape of the head and the colour of the skin. The Mediterranean race has an oblong head; it is dolichocephalic, whilst the Araucanians have a short head; they are brachycephalic. The Mediterranean has white skin, sometimes whiter than the German, as it is an opaque white; the connective tissue of the skin reflects light and gives the skin a white hue, whereas the German, as I recalled, has a translucent dermis, allowing the veins and the capillary network to show through, which makes their true colour pink. The mixed-race individual of both races is therefore very white, much whiter than the average of our race. It is thus easy to distinguish a southerner by the pale whiteness of their complexion. The white Chilean is always more pinkish and has the characteristic tinge of the Araucanian pigment.

The swarthy-skinned European from the south has a completely opaque complexion, which is not the case among us except for those with black eyes and moustaches, those in the second group.

According to ethnologists, the dark pigment of these southern Europeans is of African origin, with an 'olivâtre' hue, as the French say—that is, an olive-brown; hence the difference from the dark complexion of our race, which stems from indigenous pigment, which is brick-red. Furthermore, apart from those in the second group, in the rest one can always notice some translucency of the skin, however swarthy they may be.

Differences in head shape are more difficult to establish without using a compass, especially if one considers only the cephalic index, for we have largely inherited the oblong skull of the Goths, but it is the frontal oblong, not the occipital oblong of the Mediterranean peoples. The Iberian skull, like the Etruscan, owes its length to the development of the posterior part, the occiput or nape, as we usually call it.

There is also, regarding this matter of blondes in Spain, France and Italy, another problem that cannot be resolved without technical knowledge. It is as follows: in Spain there have been some families with blond hair since before the invasion of the Goths. Strabo speaks of blondes in the army that resisted the Roman conquest in Iberia. These blondes in Spain may have two origins: either they are remnants of the prehistoric Celtic invasion of that country, as many believe, or they could be of the blonde race that inhabited North Africa in prehistoric times, of which families remain today in the Sahara Desert and the Canary Islands. In any case, blue-eyed blondes on the Peninsula today account for only 5%. Among them are the blondes of Galicia, of Celtic origin according to Pérez Pujol, Menéndez Pelayo, Emilia Pardo B., and several foreign authors. Oloriz (cephalic index in Spain) gives the Galicians a cephalic index of between 80 and over 81, which is also an indication of a Celtic origin. Even with little attention paid, it is perfectly clear that the features of the fair-haired Spaniard are very different from those of the fair-haired Chilean. Only in Andalusia do blue-eyed, fair-haired families with Gothic features exist to this day, albeit in very small numbers.

Blue or light blue eyes are quite common in Spanish cities, reaching 20% in Madrid; but this Germanic trait is isolated there, as it is accompanied by very short stature, black or very dark hair, and a head with a very prominent occiput.

In Italy, too, 5% of the population are fair-haired and blue-eyed, with these individuals being much more common in the centre and south, and concentrated in the north. The blond people of northern Italy belong to the Ligurian race, brachycephalic, mixed with the Germanic race. There remain, however, some blond families of above-average height among the upper classes, who, as far as can be ascertained by mere visual inspection, have oblong heads.

In France, the same difficulties are encountered, although in this country people of unquestionably Germanic origin are more common.

As can be seen, it is more delicate than it might appear to determine the race to which the blondes still remaining in southern Europe belong. The only thing that can be stated is that southern blondes are of Germanic origin only in a very small proportion, and that those of the latter origin belong to the wealthy families, to the ruling class, to those who do not emigrate.

4. Blacks. Acclimatisation.

It is certain that in the early years of the conquest there were enough Black people in Chile to form a special guild in Santiago. The reason they were not more numerous and that their numbers gradually dwindled was the high price of a black slave, which fluctuated around five hundred pesos, a value that did not hold equivalent interest in this country without the lucrative agricultural industries of the tropical colonies. Once the mestizo began to emerge, he took on mining and agricultural work, rendering the importation of foreigners unnecessary.

In those days, Black people came directly from the hot regions of Africa to our temperate or cold climate, which is why they died here, most likely of consumption, just as unacclimatised Black people die in cold climates. The Zambo himself is not very resistant to the cold. Furthermore, Black people seem to lose much of their reproductive capacity outside warm regions.

It is now known that the acclimatisation of a race is a natural selective process, which costs the lives of the unadapted. In the US, there are today many Black people who are well acclimatised even in the coldest regions of that country, but this is not because all the Black people who have settled in the colder regions have become accustomed to that climate, but because, of the many who have gone there, only those possessing special qualities of resistance to the cold have survived, and only these latter have left offspring with such qualities of resistance; those who did not possess them died sooner or later. Nature has selected, to survive in that climate so unlike the one in which the Black race developed, those individuals who possessed, as an individual trait, that resistance to climatic change. It is, therefore, a case of natural selection.

Just as our climate is unfavourable to Black people, it is very well suited to the races of northern Europe. The Visigoths preferred the cooler regions of Spain itself. González de Nájera says, referring to the climate of Chile, that 'it does not test the Spaniards', that is, it does not subject them to the test of acclimatisation, as it did in the other colonies. It is certain that the mildness of our climate greatly favoured the proliferation of the fair-haired race of Spain in Chile. In the high, cool regions of the intertropical countries of the Americas, it is not uncommon to find traces of the Germanic blood of the conquistadors. Thus, in the mountain ranges of Bolivia, on the high plateaus of Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, fair-haired individuals with light eyes make up a significant proportion of the population.

As I have said, Black people in Chile remained in cities of some importance. In the countryside, their existence was almost unknown. Surely the climate meant that Black people did not venture beyond Talca, to where, unfortunately, some coloured female slaves were taken by the nobles who gathered there in the 18th century. In the provinces of Aconcagua to the north, it is still easy to find individuals with obvious signs of the ancient Africans brought to the country. The

more temperate climate of those regions has been less 'harsh' on Black people. Furthermore, on the coasts of that part of Chile lived the Chango, who were of a coppery colour much darker than the Araucanians. Aconcagua has always been in close contact with Mendoza, where there has been and still is a great deal of Black blood.

The three black families I met in Santiago in 1901, comprising some twenty people at that time, lived in the Recoleta district and were descended from black women brought from the north by army officers who fought in the War of the Pacific. It is difficult to estimate how much harm a single black person introduced into a country can cause.

Chilean families who still retain some black blood should, when entering into marriage, set aside all other considerations in favour of eliminating that remnant of inferior nature by marrying blonde Chilean women or those from the countries of northern Europe. The marriage of people who show the slightest signs of African blood produces children who accumulate within themselves the black blood of their parents.

The stature of our race is also further proof that the conquistadors, our forefathers, were not Iberians. The Iberian has an average height of 1.63 metres or so, according to Lapouge, and 1.61 to 1.64 metres according to Ripley; this is roughly that of the Araucanian, an observation already made by González de Nájera. This chronicler, as I recalled, states that the conquistador was much taller than the Araucanian, who was no taller than the inferior race then inhabiting the Peninsula (op. cit., page 39).

Around the same time, Cervantes characterised the stature of the two peninsular races in the figure of the noble knight of La Mancha and that of his rustic squire.

With a father standing one metre sixty-three centimetres tall and a mother one metre forty-six, the Chilean race would have been one of the shortest in the world, for it is certain that we would not even have reached the diminutive stature of the modern Spaniard.

5.- The Chilean is not handsome.

We are not a race of fine features, with a predominance of straight lines or gentle curves and Greek proportions. 'For a man to be a man, he must be ugly,' say the people of Chile. I am convinced that this saying was brought over by the conquering Goths, for it is linked to two other conditions considered indispensable to manly character, and which are surely Gothic: one of them I have already mentioned, that he must be 'hairy', and the other is that he must 'smell bad'. It is well known that the Iberians found the Goths smelly, and that the latter said the same of the former. This lack of harmony, of adaptation, between the odour of the physiological emissions of each of these races and the olfactory sensations of the opposing race, is of great importance to biologists in establishing the complete dissimilarity between the two.

I therefore believe that the term 'ugly' was applied to the Goths by the Goths themselves, in contrast to the appearance of the Iberians. The common Goth was, as I said, of large-faced and coarse features, which formed a marked contrast to the fine features of many Iberian lineages, and to the smallness of their face relative to the size of their head. Perhaps the epithet 'ugly' also implied a lack of care in personal adornment and even a neglect of dress and cleanliness, qualities which southerners in general reproached the Goths for. To this day, the French use 'gothique' to describe what is unattractive, graceless, or rustic. As the physical features of the conquering race were the opposite of those of the conquered, I believe they would have boasted of them, just as they boasted of their distinctive moral qualities. Just as it is easy to explain the origin of that saying by considering what is remembered of Spain, so it is difficult to find the reason for its existence by looking at the characteristics of the races of Chile.

If we cannot expect facial beauty on the father's side, we have little hope of finding it on the mother's side either. The Araucanian woman is not ugly by Indian standards; she is far from possessing the ordinary coarseness of the face of the men of her race; but there is a long way from that to beauty, as the term is understood when applied to facial features. Our aesthetic in this regard is European, derived from classical Greek ideals. Moreover, it is evident that these Araucanian women, with their well-proportioned faces and soft features, are the mothers of Carantón men, with strong jaws and harsh features.

Yet there are a significant number of men with very regular, fine and harmonious features, who may be considered handsome, and this without departing from the characteristic features of the race—pure-blooded Chileans. A type scarce in the lower strata of the race, it increases in number as one ascends the social ladder. I have said that among the noble Goths the type with a regular oval face, a straighter and finer nose, a more distinguished physiognomy, as we say, was more common. The existence of this type is not due to mixing with other races but arises within the race itself through sexual selection guided by social ideas about beauty.

When the perpetuation of a race has been guided by women for many generations—that is to say, when it has been women who have decided which men will reproduce and which will die without issue—that race eventually comes to reflect in its men the sentiment that has guided women's choices. And when it is the man who has possessed the power to choose a consort, when it has depended on his decision whether a woman has offspring or not, then it is seen that it is the woman who displays the features indicated by the man's preference. Thus, in the matriarchal races of Europe, it is the men who most commonly display the features of physical beauty, as understood by the European aesthetic sense; and in the patriarchal races of the same continent, women are by far more beautiful than men. The beauty of women in matriarchal races arises indirectly from the beauty of their parents, just as the beauty of men is likewise of indirect origin in patriarchal races. To explain this fact, one must bear in mind that a certain sexual dimorphism regarding physical features or their greater or lesser beauty is quite common in many families. Any reasonably observant person will have noticed that there are families in which the women are beautiful, whilst the men are not, or the opposite is true, without this precluding a natural resemblance between siblings. Thus, in societies where women choose, the families that

produce handsome men are those that are most likely to survive, whilst the opposite is true in those where the man is the arbiter.

Chapters 19 and 20 of Darwin's work **The Descent of Man** are devoted to elucidating, with numerous examples and sound reasoning, the issue touched upon in the preceding lines. This quote is from him:

'Many people are convinced, and I believe rightly so, that our aristocracy (including in this term all wealthy families, among whom the right of primogeniture prevailed for a long time), having been able to choose as wives the most beautiful women from all classes for many generations, has become more beautiful than the middle class.'

The cause which, according to Darwin, has made the English upper class more beautiful is the same that produced the distinguished type among the Goths and has made handsome men more common in our upper class, and has brought about, in particular, the beauty of its women.

It is through the beautiful women of the lower class that the middle class most commonly associates with it, and through the women of the middle class that its blood reaches the upper class. That is the most frequent route. Families more readily tolerate the marriage of one of their sons to a woman of lower standing, provided she possesses the qualities that have at all times levelled the conditions of women: virtue and beauty. The resistance offered by social consensus to a woman's descent in social rank has always been very strong, and is overcome only by the demonstrably superior qualities of the man of lower birth who seeks her hand.

To find ugly men in Europe, one must go to the Germanic countries. There, particularly among the lower classes, one finds men of utter ugliness. Among the lower classes of England, the Scandinavian countries, Germany and Holland, stocky types with large, bony faces, small eyes, flat noses and large, fleshy mouths are relatively common. Their only saving grace is their complexion; were they to be dyed black or even dark brown, they would be hideously ugly. But, as they have been and remain the ones who decide whether or not to marry, the caste of the ugly has been perpetuated in these peoples, perhaps refining their ugliness by the fact that any beautiful daughters they might bear are taken by those in a better position than themselves. In Spain it is very rare to find a truly ugly man, and even those are never to the same degree as the moderately severe cases found in northern countries. It is more common in Spain to find women of coarse and unattractive features in the lower classes than men. As for Italy, I have not seen a single man who could be called truly ugly; on the other hand, there are many women with harsh and ungraceful features. In France, the phenomenon is less pronounced, but still easily discernible. This characteristic of the Latin race must have arisen during the long periods when it was subject to a matriarchal system.

Chapter VIII

Some traits of Chilean psychology

1.- Chileans are prone to tears. 2.- Men do not like jewellery. 3.- Men and women bathe separately. 4.- The chastity of Araucanian women. 5.- a) Traits of the matriarchy among the Goths of Spain. b) Its roots in Chile, its consequences.
c) Some surnames of conquistadors. 6.- a) The European common people and the Chilean common people. b) Sancho and the Roto. c) The star and the national colours.

1.- Chileans are quick to tears.

The psychology of the Chilean race is, in its main features, spread throughout this book. As for their concept of property, I shall deal with it specifically when I examine the political concept of our race and address the accusation of socialism levelled against us.

Modern psychologists regard as an established truth the inferior quality of mestizos of very dissimilar races. The mixed-race people they discuss—the only ones they have concerned themselves with—are those of the conquering race from Europe mixed with the various indigenous peoples of the conquered parts of the world. As races or families with a patriarchal psychology are so rare in the world, these mixed-race people have always been the product of two races with opposing psychologies—matriarchal and patriarchal—which explains the bad reputation of mixed-race people. No ancient chronicler or historian speaks ill of the Chilean mestizo; it was the university annals that were the first to distort historical truth, and many other official documents followed, which we shall examine later, to continue the same task. I must, therefore, repeat that the uniformity and soundness of our race's psychology is due to the fact that the two races that gave rise to it possessed the same psychology; both were patriarchal, with the Araucanian being the more rigid of the two. Thus, although physical features reveal an evident physical intermingling of two very dissimilar races, moral and intellectual traits show no sign whatsoever of a mixture of incompatible souls 'thanks to the fine union formed by Araucanian and Spanish blood', as Father Ovalle puts it when discussing the moral conditions of the mestizos of his time.

I wish here only to discuss some general traits of our character, and a sign of matriarchy among the Goths of Spain, which came with them to Chile.

Those who have travelled know that we Chileans have a reputation for being tearful, a reputation that is widespread among the Pacific nations of the Americas, but which also extends to those on the Atlantic. To appreciate these general traits of a people's character, one must have been in a position to make comparisons, to have known other peoples at close quarters. It is only after travelling that I have become convinced that this reputation is deserved. But I have also come to realise that we are not the only ones who are quick to tears. Among the peoples of Europe, the Scandinavians and the Germans are also quick to be moved; but the Russians have no equal to date when it comes to being tearful. I have not met a single Russian who was not tearful. I had dealings in Paris with a group of Russian tourists, and at the parties and meals I had the pleasure of accompanying them to, I saw them weep like children when memories of their homeland were evoked. On one occasion, during a civic anniversary, an elderly doctor with a prophet's beard was unable to finish reading the speech for the occasion, because his tears blinded him and his throat seized up.

We Chileans have someone to look up to in this matter of weeping. I have already recalled that the Araucanians were weepers and still are.

In the poem **El Cid**, this hero—the very embodiment of manhood, both physically and morally—appears weeping from the very first lines, just as the men and women of Burgos stood ‘weeping’ as they watched him pass by on his way to unjust exile. But it is patriotic tenderness, I shall put it this way, that most often drew tears from El Cid, just as it moved the Araucan and moves the peoples mentioned. Those who have seen it say that when the Tsar reviews his troops, many soldiers and officers shed silent tears. When, on the morning of 26 May 1880, at Alto de la Alianza, the Chilean army bands struck up the National Anthem in response to the enemy's first cannon shots, I saw my entire battalion weeping; later I learnt that the whole army had wept.

This way of expressing patriotic sentiment is less common than it may seem to Chileans, for whom it is a matter of heritage. No people of southern Europe express their love of country in this way, nor do the other peoples of the Americas. The English and the Americans, on occasions of patriotic emotion, keep their eyes dry, but they turn somewhat pale and their countenance changes.

Patriotic tenderness has certain distinctive features that set it apart from all others. In general, tenderness is an emotion that depresses the will, as are nostalgia, melancholy and all those states of mind to which the word—which in this case is apt—‘grief’ can be applied. On the contrary, the contrite and tearful countenance of patriotic emotion, when it is strong, is always accompanied by the most evident external signs of the overexcitement of the will: the sustained, tonic contraction of the muscles. And it should be noted that the muscles that come into play are those of the onslaught, those of the attack: the muscles of the legs and chest brace themselves, the jaws clench and the fists are clenched. The gaze, through the tears, takes on a gleam more akin to anger than to tenderness, and in severe cases it is not uncommon to hear a quiet murmur of oaths and threats.

How can one explain this coexistence of the most eloquent external sign of a depressed spirit, of its invincible suffering, of its grief, of its surrender to moral pain—namely

are tears not caused by physical pain, with the equally eloquent set of actions of volitional overactivity in its most energetic manifestation: the outburst?

They are two states of mind that seem to be mutually exclusive. I cannot recall which of Chile's chroniclers says that the Araucanians feared fear itself, and that, to cast it from themselves before entering battle, they would strike the ground with repeated blows of their heels. How can a single individual feel both fear and a desire to fight? Why does a man weep before entering battle, when he is eager to do battle? What does this duality of feelings signify? They tell of a French general who, recognising from the jingling of his spurs the trembling of his legs at the moment of engaging in combat, was in the habit of saying: 'Are you trembling, you wretch? What would you do if you knew where I intend to take you?' To whom was the general addressing himself? Sterne, and later Xavier de Maistre, in his *A Journey Around My Room**, have highlighted this inner human duality so clearly that there can be no doubt of it. The general in question was addressing the physically sensitive part of his being, his body, his 'beast', as de Maistre would say, which trembled with fear—fear of pain, fear of death—while his honourable and courageous soul went into battle, mocking its timid companion.

It is admirable how these relatively modern sentiments of social solidarity, defence of the homeland and civic honour have triumphed, overcoming in man those primal instincts—deeply rooted in every living being—of fear of physical pain and horror of death. That triumph is the most brilliant victory of social selection. At the Battle of Tacna, Second Lieutenant Guerrero, a young blond man, almost a teenager, was overcome by his animal instincts at the sight of human blood, according to the account, and fearing that it might kill him in defiance of his orders, he ordered a sergeant to restrain him; and in the sergeant's arms he continued to lead his men along the path to victory, until a bullet justified the fears of that flesh too frail for the soul it housed, separating it from that soul forever. The soldier weeps before entering battle because his beast has heard, there in the mysterious and secret caverns where thought is forged, that man has resolved to attain glory by offering his life for the sake of the fatherland, and it knows that this resolution is irrevocable. Those tears that flow silently from his eyes are those of the beast that groans.

Let us respect his weeping: he is mortal!

2. Man does not care for jewellery.

'They do not base their pride on personal adornment: only their shields are painted in varied and chosen colours,' says Tacitus of the Germans. I recalled that the Goths wore neither jewellery nor adornments, and that one of the accusations levelled by Witiza's supporters against Don Rodrigo was that he adorned himself like a woman.

'Moreover, although generally all the Indians of Chile, men and women alike, go about—as I said above—clothed though barefoot, they do so with far greater modesty than Indians from any other provinces, where they make no distinction between private and public parts. Nor do they paint their faces or bodies, as those in Brazil and elsewhere do, nor

do they pierce their lips or noses like those in Paraguay and among the Charrúas, and many others who wear carved bones and stones in them, which our people call barbote, nor do they wear, except for women, bracelets or necklaces, or any other feminine adornment used by the Indians in many other parts.”

(González de Nájera, op. cit., p. 46)

In their refusal to wear personal adornments of any kind, the Araucano people are an exception in the whole world. The same author, on page 96, states that the Araucanians take such care of their weapons that ‘they keep them constantly so well maintained, clean and gleaming that they not only gain an advantage in this, but even put many of our Spaniards to shame’. This is the reason why the Chilean people are the ones who make the least use of jewellery to this day in the whole world.

The Germans, like the Araucanians, took great care of their weapons and adorned them in various ways. The Araucanians adorned their heads with red feathers and put on their newest and cleanest clothes to go on campaign. It was the only occasion on which they took care of their personal appearance.

Time and again, during the Pacific campaign, I witnessed the curious fact that everyone who could, whether soldier or chieftain, carefully kept a clean shirt or even just a collar and a pair of cuffs—as much as was possible during those months spent in the desert—to wear on the day of battle, for which everyone strove to appear shaven, clean, and as dashing as possible. This was a general desire, an inner aspiration; no one explained it to anyone else, nor did they try to. It was a natural desire to present the victim offered on the sacred altar of the fatherland as adorned and beautiful as possible. This is an example of what is called psychological inheritance.

3.- Men and women bathe separately.

To this day, I believe that only we Chileans have the custom of men and women bathing separately. Tacitus, when discussing bathing among the Germans, says nothing about this. Livy says that the Roman patricians not only bathed separately from women, but that even adult men did not bathe together with children. I have no information on this regarding the Goths of Spain.

Among the Araucanians, there was a strict separation between men and women in this regard:

‘Women also bathe daily, but they are never seen in the rivers alongside men; rather, they seek out secluded places.’

(‘Anonymous Compendium’, Collection, Volume XI, page 258)

I shall now hand over to Isidoro Errázuriz, who witnessed Araucanian girls bathing:

“In a backwater formed by the river, a few steps from the ford, four or five Indian women, dressed in their chamales, are bathing; they dive like ducks, wash themselves and play in the crystal-clear waters, as if in their element. The ravine, covered in leafy trees, forms the backdrop to this unique spectacle, and amidst the soft, luminous rays of the autumn sun, their eyes shine, the waters shine, and their sturdy, dark bronze-coloured arms and black hair, dripping with crystal-clear water, shine.

We are curious to witness the end of this traditional Araucanian-style bath, to see the confusion of the Indian women as they are forced to emerge from the water and change their clothes in full view of strangers and outsiders.

But we are mistaken if we expect to have a spectacle at the expense of this peaceful and majestic race, proud of its age-old ownership of these regions. The ablutions, the dives and the swimming go on indefinitely; and when at last the Indian women emerge from the water, one after another, it does not occur to them to run into the forest in search of a hiding place or to burst into laughter, childish shrieks and other expressions of alarmed modesty.

Each of the tanned nymphs has a spare, clean white shirt spread out on a bush. Upon leaving the bath, they put it on over their wet clothes, which fall to the ground a moment later. Over the shirt they quickly fasten a dry chamal, in which they wrap their chest, belly and legs, fasten it with a silver pin, cover their backs with a second dry cloth, which serves as a cloak, fasten it over their chests with another large pin, gather up their wet clothes, and continue on their way, with the gait of gymnasts, as unperturbed and indifferent as if no one had thought to desecrate with their gaze the chaste bathing of these Dianas of Araucanía’.

(Three Races, page 40).

For many centuries, those who have desecrated the chastity of the Araucanian virgins have been subjected to the punishment of being speared; that is to say, they are toyed with by being impaled on the tips of spears until they die, a task entrusted to the offended parties, and so the lineage of such offenders has been unable to thrive within that race.

We do well to follow that racial custom. The families of Santiago who are beginning to imitate the foreigners of Valparaíso, with men and women bathing together, are doing very wrong. Such mixed bathing does no harm to the English or Germans or the children of any other nation; but it is highly immoral for the Chilean, because it offends an ethnic sentiment related to modesty, which must be sacred, and because, moreover, we are in the right on this matter. I have observed and discussed this at length with people from all over. In countries where mixed bathing is the custom, there are certainly families who do not follow it. At Manhattan Beach, near New York, I have seen families whose women bathed at unusual hours, with only a friend or relative present on the viewing platforms, waiting attentively to assist them in case of need.

In southern Europe, the custom of communal bathing is very widespread; but in northern countries it has only been introduced in recent years, without becoming common, and in many places it is not accepted.

4. The chastity of Araucanian women.

Since I have touched upon the subject of the honour of Araucanian women, I shall take the liberty of adding a few more lines on the matter, given that it is not possible to allow the false assertions of the Annals regarding these women to circulate freely, for they are among the most virtuous, if not the most virtuous, of all humanity. For those versed in ethnic psychology, it is enough to know that Araucanian society is distinctly patriarchal to be certain that the chastity of its women is a logical and necessary fact; but as not everyone engages in such study, I shall quote an author who knew the very depths of these women's souls, who marvels in several passages of his work at the immaculate purity of the souls of some of them. Many chroniclers speak of this, but more from hearsay than from personal knowledge.

Among those who knew them well, none are in a better position than the missionaries and confessors of the Catholic Indian women, such as those who accompanied the conquistador. The Indian women who gave themselves to the conqueror as wives or concubines

could not have felt their consciences troubled by that act, since that was the established custom of their race; but outside those relationships, which were normal for them, the indigenous virgin offered the pirates of love a resistance that could only be overcome by physical force. Father Alonso de Ovalle devotes the entire chapter beginning on page 263 of the second volume of his **Histórica Relación** to extolling the chastity of the Araucanian Indian woman. He recounts numerous cases known to him personally from the anecdotes of his time and from the confessional grilles, which he sets forth as an example to the Spaniards with these words:

‘It is truly a powerful argument for the strength of divine grace to see that these people, so new to the faith, have the courage to resist temptation, which is perhaps presented to them by those very people who ought to teach them more by their example than by their words; and that, seeing the old Christians bow the knee to the idol of sensuality, these new Christians trample it underfoot with such steadfastness.’

He also refers to many accounts recorded in the missionaries’ annual reports on this very subject and says:

“From many other Indian women, the same annual reports tell us of great examples of the fortitude with which they have resisted those who sought to violate the rights of their purity, unable to make them yield either through gifts or threats, but rather risked losing their physical lives to safeguard their souls, perhaps emerging from these conflicts and battles badly wounded and bathed in blood, as was seen a few years ago.”

The good priest then delights in recounting cases of such consummate purity that there was nothing to absorb them in the confessional, of that chastity not only of deeds but also of desires and thoughts, as demanded by the Catholic confessor, a chastity that has become second nature, an admirable product of a very long patriarchal selection:

‘In this way,’ he says, on page 266, ‘I have had some penitent women who devoted themselves so entirely to virtue and penance and took such great care of their souls that they did not provide sufficient material in their confessions for absolution.’

Among the many cases he mentions, there is one that deserves special mention; it is as follows (page 265):

‘Another Indian woman conducted herself in every respect as a model of virtue, and one day, as she was leaving our church, a man in the street made a somewhat indecent gesture towards her; and although she was unaware of it, and there had been no hint of her involvement or consent, she punished herself by spending a whole night in a corner of her house weeping and praying with a rosary, and on another night she placed many thorns in her bed, with which she punished and wounded her flesh all night long.’

This example sheds great light on the depths of the soul of women in patriarchal societies. These women hold the deep conviction that it is they, their feminine charms, that are responsible for the arousal produced in men and that leads them to sin. She knows that it is she who causes the temptation; that is why she covers herself, why she hides, why she punishes herself, and why, in cases of excessive and misguided rigour, she goes so far as to destroy as much of her feminine charms as she can. This is the origin of voluntary modesty in women.

Father Ovalle asserts that the Indian woman was not ‘foresighted’, that is to say, she did not foresee what might happen as she walked calmly past a man. She could not forgive herself for that lack of foresight; she could have walked past him at a distance or taken some other precaution that would have spared that man the sin of being a lecher; that lack of prudence, of modesty on her part, was what the poor girl wept over and punished by placing thorns in her bed. If the value of these virtues were to be measured by the price of tears and blood that humanity has paid to attain them, then, after patriotism, modesty should be the most precious treasure of the superior races.

All patriarchal peoples have held the same view that it is the woman who incites, who tempts the man. The biblical account of Adam and Eve is the expression of that belief. As the development of chastity progresses within a race, social sentiment demands ever greater control from men over their amorous passions, proportionately diminishing the woman’s responsibility.

I must add that the Araucanian woman was timid and humble. Not a single Araucanian heroine appears in history. Janequeo, wife of Guepotaen, commanded troops and fought personally against the conquistador; but Janequeo was from Villarrica, and therefore a Huilliche. Don Alonso de Ercilla had time only to learn of the Araucanians’ martial customs; had he known their domestic and social habits, he would not have said that Lautaro took his wife Guacolda along with him during that chieftain’s daring campaign. The Araucanians did not take women into their armies; their religion, of which they were zealous observers, forbade it. It is almost certain that the distinguished poet composed in Chile the entire section of his poem relating to the War of Arauco, as Mosquera asserts; but it is also highly probable that he revised it and added some scenes in Spain, for it is known that he only sent the first fifteen cantos to the press six years after arriving in that country, where he devoted himself to the study of the Italian poets of that time. Although the episode of Guacolda is merely a most sweet and chaste idyll, with no trace at any point of the spirited, warrior-like woman, it is nevertheless contrary to Araucanian customs, and merely a poetic fantasy of Don Alonso. Some chroniclers have faithfully followed the poet in everything he recounts, even in what at first glance

to be the author's poetic embellishments. I am very sorry to disagree on this point with an enlightened Chilean writer and public figure, but my conviction on the matter is absolute.

The scene involving Fresia, the wife of the hero Caupolicán, who insults the Araucanian chieftain—idolised by his compatriots—in prison, is likewise a supposition by some chronicler and a literary embellishment by the author of **La Araucana**. That passage is so contrary to Araucanian psychology that it must surely be regarded as invented in times when indigenous domestic customs were unknown. It was only in the late 16th century or early 17th that, through the missionaries or rescued captives such as Núñez de Pineda and Bascuñán, more or less accurate accounts of indigenous customs became available. An Araucanian woman, who regarded her husband as little less than a god, upon seeing him a prisoner, laden with chains and condemned to death, would surely have thrown herself at his feet, drowned in a sea of tears; to insult him and throw her son at him would never have crossed her mind, perhaps not even had she been a Huilliche or Pehuenche woman. That scene, like the others featuring manly women, was suggested to the poet by his reading of Italian romances, full of heminas, and by the literary taste that was beginning to spread in Spain, well suited to the Iberian spirit.

It is worth noting that, in body and soul, the Araucanian race is perhaps the one in which sexual differentiation has reached its greatest development. In contrast to the indomitable energy of its men, there appears the humble and submissive nature of the women of that race. Mariño de Lovera, Father Ovalle, Núñez and all who knew such women speak of this contrast. E. Ruell Smith, in his book **The Araucanians**, makes the same observation. Furthermore, this author attributes the humility of the Chilean peasant woman to Araucanian heritage, citing as an example of this character the manner in which Chilean maids deliver a message:

'Good morning, sir! How are you? My mistress, Doña Mariquita, sends her regards and asks after your health; she is very glad to hear that you have no news of any sort, etc.'

Commenting on this trait, he says:

-Coming, as it does, from a kind heart and indicating a friendly disposition, it attracts our indulgence, if not our admiration.

This author is American, and Americans appreciate a touch of independence and energy in women.

An adult Araucanian maiden has the proportions and features of a prepubescent girl, being some fifteen or sixteen centimetres shorter than a man, which, given the small stature of the race, is the most striking disproportion in the entire human species. Sexual differentiation is, like all differentiation, one of the most constant and reliable indicators of organic progress. This process can be traced step by step from single-celled organisms, which reproduce by dividing into two or more, without reproductive organs, to hermaphrodites and asexuals. In the latter, it is also more notable, within the

same species, the difference between individuals of the opposite sex, consistent with other signs of refinement. In the human species, physical and mental differences between the two sexes increase as one ascends the ethnic scale and even the social scale, according to Le Bon, an opinion endorsed by Darwin.

I have been prompted to write the above by the official edition of the History of Chile for primary education that has just been published, a book that summarises what the Annals say regarding the Araucanians, adding that they 'went about almost always naked' and that 'when they were at war, they killed their enemies and devoured them', things which the Annals did not dare to say. The government states in its book that the Indians of Peru taught those of Chile to dress in guanaco woolen fabrics—it surely meant llama—and that they reached as far as the Bío-Bío in their conquests of Chile, from where they withdrew northwards. Garcilaso de la Vega, an Inca by blood, is the only reliable account of those Peruvian expeditions, and this author states that his countrymen only reached the Maule, and that there they were defeated by the Purumaucaes after three days of fighting. The Purumaucaes or Promaucaes lived south of the Maipo-Rapel, so it is possible that the Inca's troops reached only as far as that boundary. That educational text is written in the same spirit as all the official documents designed to belittle and denigrate our Araucanian ancestors. But this is not what I wished to point out; rather, that text praises the martial courage of a woman who accompanied the expeditionaries who came with Valdivia, a woman 'a native of Plasencia and married in Málaga' according to Mariño: 'It is said that she,' the educational text states, 'with her own hand cut the throat of one of the captive chiefs'. What a fine example for the country's schools to emulate!

These matters are of such great importance in shaping the moral judgement of Chilean youth that I hope I may be excused for devoting a few lines to them, albeit in a categorical manner, as there is no room for more.

From one pole of the Earth to the other, one may survey the various human races one by one and verify in all of them what I have already said regarding the distinction between the physique and character of their men and women as an unmistakable sign of perfection. Men of developed masculine character are matched by women of equally developed femininity, and conversely, masculine women are matched by men who are scarcely so. The masculine English and American women so highly praised by the newspapers and magazines of Santiago are not such masculine women. In that race there are no warrior women or anything of the sort. English and American women walk alone in the streets because they know that men will not cause them the slightest trouble, and if some of them behave inappropriately towards men, as they say happens, it is only because the men treat them too leniently and even spoil them; but they are as feminine as any other. I know them personally.

Women of moral and intellectual qualities similar to those of men, who tend to appear among the higher races, also share physical affinities with men: they are not particularly attractive in appearance, often have facial hair, square shoulders, their voices lack the sweetness that the feminine accent holds for men, etc., and it is not uncommon for them to like dressing as men; on the other hand, those highly talented women who have often rivalled men, those exceptional individuals, have had no offspring. What could be the reason? Doctors know a great deal about such matters, but sometimes even they are at a loss.

It is very easy in Chile to refute these fiscal doctrines, because here they run counter to the inherited sentiments of the population. Every Chilean of sound instincts feels a distaste for a talented, manly woman, in which he does nothing more than follow the mysterious, yet infallible, dictates of nature.

Contrary to the fiscal example for my fellow countrywomen, I shall assure you, without proof for the moment, that there are few signs more eloquent of racial inferiority for a woman than that of possessing a manly character, and that female intelligence must not exceed certain limits if it is not to arouse suspicion. This is not to deny that there are indeed women who are more intelligent than many men; it is merely to state that the average level of female intelligence is lower than that of men, and that this difference becomes more pronounced as one ascends the racial hierarchy, for it is precisely by differentiating between male and female aptitudes that the superior races have come to be superior.

Nor was the Germanic woman a warrior. Whilst she sometimes accompanied the armies, she never entered into combat; her role was to prepare food and care for the wounded. The women in Chile who have shown any sign of masculine and warrior-like energy have been neither Araucanians nor Goths. The European women have been from the south. Joan of Arc was an Iberian from the south of France.

The Annals correctly state that there were prostitutes among the Araucanians; but they fail to grasp the harmful intent with which they dwell on this custom. It is not difficult to explain the existence of such women in societies with strict domestic customs, particularly in polygamous societies such as that of the Araucanians, where many men are left without wives. The social institution represented by the profession of prostitution owes its existence to a physiological need, the satisfaction of which ensures the propriety of domestic customs in such societies. Thus, any measure tending to suppress or disrupt the functions of this institution runs directly counter to good morals, of which there are examples in Europe and America that are as eloquent as they are sad.

What need would there be for such women in societies where established, widespread customs were licentious? Or in those where women dominate and control men? The ancient Germans had prostitutes, for whom their society nevertheless felt deep contempt, as is natural:

‘As for the woman who publicly prostitutes her honour, she has no hope of forgiveness: neither beauty, nor age, nor wealth will enable her to find a husband.’

(Tacitus)

Father Ovalle (op. cit., vol. 2, p. 284) relates that some young Indians once sought to kill one of these Araucanian women 'because they said she lived a loose life'. They were, therefore, viewed as unfavourably in Arauco as they were in northern Europe.

5.-

a) A feature of the matriarchy among the Goths of Spain:

The matriarchal custom that the Goths of Spain brought to Chile is that of a woman retaining her maiden name after marriage, and consequently, that many Chileans have the Iberian custom of signing with two surnames, that of the father and that of the mother.

Everything we know of the inhabitants of ancient Iberia fully confirms that matriarchy, or the dominance of women, was well established in times past. At the time of the Roman conquest of that country, many customs attesting to this still persisted. Even today, numerous remnants of that system remain. Spanish writers who have dealt with this subject provide ample evidence. The northern region of Spain, especially that bordering the Pyrenees, is the one that has preserved the most eloquent matriarchal signs, among which the 'cubada' is the most telling. This custom, as is well known, consists of the husband taking to his bed and feigning illness as soon as his wife gives birth. In bed, he is showered with attention and care, keeping to a special diet for a few days, and receiving congratulations on the arrival of the new offspring. It is a way of asserting his paternity with regard to the newborn. There is in the logic of this test a circular argument, or proving the same with the same, as we commonly say, a frequent mode of reasoning among primitive peoples, but this does not make it any less regarded as an indisputable proof of paternity. This custom existed in Strabo's time, and Sales and Ferré say that it still survives. It proves that in earlier times family filiation was determined solely through the woman, that it was only her mother whom people knew with certainty, and that the woman was not the sole possession of a single man in her marital relations. Hence, the surname or distinctive mark of the woman's family or tribe was the only reliable identifier for the descendants, and the only one they used.

Iberian women were so determined to pass on their surname to their children that they can be traced through history by this very trait of their character. It is well known that the Iberian people occupied a very extensive area of the European continent in prehistoric and even protohistoric times.

Their skeletons have been found, in addition to the Iberian Peninsula, throughout the south of France, in the south-west of England and in Ireland. When the Picts, of Celtic origin, were preparing in Ireland for their conquest of Scotland, Irish women offered to

accompany them, on the condition that their children would bear their mothers' surname. Among the Spanish Basques, the custom—enshrined in law—persisted until the 18th century whereby a man who married an heiress would lose his own surname and take that of his wife, and consequently the children bore their mothers' surname. Captain Don Melchor Jufre, author of the *Compendio Historial*, was not actually a Jufre but an Águila; Jufre was his mother's surname, which he placed first, as it was common practice to put the mother's surname before the father's. However, this captain named his eldest son after his father's real surname, Águila, in the early 16th century. Many Spanish emigrants change their father's surname to their mother's when leaving their homeland. It is the Spanish mother who tenaciously insists on retaining her surname, which is but one of the many clear manifestations of the individual independence she feels within marriage.

Only in the Iberian Peninsula and in the regions that were or are its colonies does the wife retain her surname. In France and Italy, only the first name remains, as she takes her husband's surname. In England, she even loses her first name, which survives only within the privacy of the home. Thus, María Pérez, married to Juan Díaz, signs in Spanish as María Pérez de D. or María P. de Díaz. According to Italian and French custom, she would sign as María Díaz, and in England, outside her home, no one would call her anything other than Mrs Juan Díaz, as she signs herself. It is common to find Englishmen who do not know their mother's surname, something inconceivable to a Spanish woman.

Hence the custom of signing with two or more surnames in Spain, Portugal and other countries that have adopted this custom from them. The use of more than one surname ultimately results, in many families, in the paternal surname being lost for good, leaving only the last one to be adopted. This phenomenon is due to the greater persistence in auditory memory of the last sound perceived.

Many people knew Vicuña Mackenna simply as Mackenna; no one would recognise the novelist Pérez Galdós if he were called only Pérez, but there would be no doubt if he were called Galdós.

b) Its roots in Chile, its consequences:

There are many examples of this loss of the first surname for this reason. Among the chroniclers and historians of Chile and others I have recalled, one may cite, amongst others, Mariño de Lovera, whose name was Pedro Rodríguez; Father Ovalle, whom I have so often cited as a witness, was also a Rodríguez on his father's side, as he was the son of Don Francisco Rodríguez del Manzano y Ovalle. The name of the street in Santiago commemorating Chile's first historian, as Vicuña Mackenna called him, is thus the surname of that historian's paternal grandmother. Molina calls Father Gómez Vidaurre, and Figueroa was a Gutiérrez on his father's side. Altamirano was Grez, Rodrigo de Quiroga was Camba, Hurtado de Mendoza was López on his father's side, the painter Velázquez was called Diego de Silva, and the name of the illustrious conquistador Valdivia was Don Pedro Oncas y Gutiérrez, Valdivia being his maternal grandmother's surname.

One can appreciate how difficult it is to trace the genealogies of some families with such changes in surnames, for it must be borne in mind that these changes have been occurring since long before the period in which I have mentioned them; thus Father Ovalle was not a Rodríguez either, as his paternal ancestor is recorded with the surname Nieto; just as Hurtado de Mendoza has an ancestor named Íñiguez; and Córdoba and Figueroa, before becoming Gutiérrez, have a series of grandparents, each with a different surname.

In Chile there are many families who bear their mother's surname, such as the Aldunates, who are actually Martínez; the Ballesteros, who are Rodríguez; the Valenzuelas, who are Pérez; the Bascuñáns, who are Núñez, and so on.

This shows just how, in such a peculiar way, the Iberian woman's insistence on having her surname appear—even if only after her husband's—has resulted in hers being the only one that ultimately persists. This outcome was surely unforeseen by her, as it is merely the consequence of the aforementioned acoustic phenomenon, as can easily be verified. In England, and particularly in Ireland, the surname O'Neill is and has been very common; consequently, one of the families bearing that surname added, to distinguish themselves from the others, the word 'rcux', later written 'roe', which are pronounced more or less the same; well then, the present-day descendants of that O'Neill Roe family, members of which live in Chile today, sign their names simply as Roe.

There is yet another curious fact regarding this: when a family wishes to recover the forgotten paternal surname of old, they cannot place it first in the signature because the maternal surname, which has been used in recent times, is linked to contracts and forms part of the name by which they are known in society; consequently, it is customary to place it after the one in use, the maternal one. For this reason, a reversal occurs in the order of the original surnames, of which there are also numerous examples in Spain and Portugal, and which are not lacking in Chile; thus the Irrarázabals and Andías, as I have seen that family named, are Andía Irrarázabal, the Cortés Monroys are Monroy Cortés, the Solís de Obandos are Obando de Solís, etc.

The woman who has inherited this Iberian custom has thus succeeded in linking the name of her lineage to the men who have gone down in history for their deeds, consigning the father of those men to oblivion; but it has not been without its drawbacks that, in some cases, the maternal surname has remained linked to a less than enviable reputation: the tyrant Rosas of Argentina, for example, was called Manuel Ortiz.

Such changes and losses of surnames in a society not only have the drawback of hindering genealogical research, but also that of obscuring the blood ties that inevitably, albeit slowly, are established across all social strata; for it so happens that it is the families that stand out in a lineage who are accustomed to using two surnames, and for that very reason are the ones who ultimately lose the true one. Furthermore, in our country, as in many others, illegitimate children usually take the mother's surname, and when they take the father's, it is extremely rare for them to take it in full when it is a compound surname; if the first of these double surnames is eventually lost in some families, two branches of the same family tree will, for that reason, appear to belong to different lineages. How many Pérez

will not share the same grandfather as some Valenzuelas? How many commoner Núñezes will not be of the same lineage as some noble Bascañáns? The Andía farmhands, of whom there are many, surely have a not-too-distant common ancestor with the Marquises of La Pica, since a single family bearing that most noble surname has formed part of our race. Today more than ever it is necessary to remember these things amongst ourselves, now that a senseless estrangement of the ruling classes from the people threatens to destroy our social cohesion.

In our short history, one can see how different families have succeeded one another on the social stage. That is natural, logical in any properly organised society, for it is well known that the ability to produce superior men is exhausted, sooner or later, in every lineage, for various reasons. This rotation of families in our society is today hindered to the point of obstruction by moral rather than intellectual causes, causes which we shall examine later.

c) Some surnames of conquistadors:

Here, since we are dealing with Chilean surnames, I shall mention some of the most common in the country, which are also among the most noble—not on paper, but by blood and by nature—and which today feature little or not at all in the country's leadership, but which may well do so tomorrow.

These 124 surnames were brought to Chile by those Gothic warriors whom Valdivia described as 'more than men' and by those who followed them shortly afterwards, refined through the sieve of the fine mesh we have seen. I shall list no more than six per letter, so as not to take up too many lines:

Aguayo, Alfaro, Agurto or Aburto, Alegría, Atenas, Ayala, Barrera, Barrial, Balboa, Basualto, Bobadilla, Burgos; Camino, Canales, Castañeda, Cabello, Cereceda, Collasos; Delgadillo, Delgado, Devia, Dinamarca, Donaire, Durán; Elgueta, Erizar, Escalante, Escalona, Escobedo, Estay, Gálvez, Galán, Gamboa, Ganga, Garay or Garey, Góngora; Hermosilla, Hernández, Herrero, Hidalgo, Hinojosa, Honorato; Ibacache, Ibarra, Illanes, Inóstroza, Iriarte, Iturra; Jaña, Jarpa, Jerez, Jeria, Jirón, Jorquera, Lagos, Lara, Lepe, Linares, Lorca, Loyola; Machuca, Maldonado, Mejía, Meléndez, Mella, Montecinos; Navia, Navarro, Neira, Nieto, Niño, Núñez; Olano, Olea, Olmos, Ordenes, Ortíz, Osorio; Pacheco, Pantoja, Pedrero, Peña, Peñalosa, Pulgar, Quevedo, Quezada, Quijada, Quintanilla, Quintero, Quiroga, Retamal, Reinoso, Robles, Roco, Rocha, Rojo; Sagredo, Sanabria, Sande, Segovia, Sierpe, Soto; Tapia, Téllez, Tejeda, Toledo, Torrejón, Trujillo; Ubilla, Ulloa, Urra; Valiente, Valladar, Vallejo, Veas, Vives, Vizcarra; Zárate, Zepeda, Zorrilla, Zuluaga, Zúñiga.

Many of these names have the supreme honour of having been celebrated in the national epic.

These lineages, like so many others, have remained in Chile entirely free from admixture with blood foreign to our race for a period of two and a half to three centuries or more. The branches of these families that remained in Europe have either died out or intermingled there with Iberian blood. There are here some very numerous Gothic lineages, such as the Valenzuelas, for example, spread throughout the country and across all social strata, which are almost exclusively Chilean. Generally speaking, it may be said that ancient Chilean surnames are unknown in Spain, whether because, having belonged to noblemen, the latter adopted the custom—which originated on the Peninsula in the 15th and 16th centuries—of adding the mother's surname, and thus the father's was lost; or because those families have died out in Europe. Apart from patronymic surnames such as Pérez, González, etc., the other surnames of modern Spaniards are foreign to ours. The most genuinely Chilean blood is therefore to be found in the countryside, villages and small towns of the agricultural provinces, places where no significant amount of southern European or African blood has ever reached.

6.-

a) European commoners and Chilean commoners:

One of the most serious evils caused by the Latin culture introduced into Santiago in recent years is, without doubt, the perversion of the criteria by which the people of Chile are to be judged.

Literature in the southern European mould, widely circulated in political newspapers and in the growing number of literary magazines filled with excerpts from Latin authors and imitations of those authors, is establishing in public opinion a completely false idea regarding the qualities of the intellect and character of our ethnic base. Theatrical performances, by showcasing the customs of those peoples—which differ substantially from our own—have the same disruptive effect.

The people of Santiago are coming to believe that the populace must be made up of bullfighters, gallants, pimps and courtesans. The natural brazenness of the southern European rabble, exaggerated by the usual comedians, stands in stark contrast to the quiet, unassuming labourer, and to the modest woman of the people who slips fearfully through the streets of the capital. To those accustomed to the 'tandas'—that is, to the vast majority of Santiago's literati, journalists and people of means—the Chilean common people appear too poorly dressed, dull, ungainly, insubstantial, foolish, and contemptible.

The picture that novelists from France, Italy and Spain paint of the habits and passions of the lower classes in their own countries is believed by the people of Santiago to apply to the Chilean populace. They attribute the roto's respect for his superiors to a lack of spirit, and praise the boldness with which the European labourer approaches us, shaking our hands and even patting us on the shoulder the moment we let our guard down. Such a judgement betrays as much ignorance of our way of being as of what the modesty of the 'roto' and the self-assurance of the European labourer signify, and of the value that both these mental dispositions hold in the organisation of society. Respectful men are not to be found in the lower social strata, but in the countries of northern Europe. Humble men are to be found in the south, but not in the north of that continent.

In Latin nations, the moral concept is generally much higher among the upper classes of society; the same applies to political, religious and other concepts; the ruling classes are at a more advanced stage of their psychological evolution than the ruled, lower classes, which is only natural. Moral customs do not always bear a direct relation to the concept, for that is a separate matter.

Thus, referring solely to the sense of honesty, in Italy and Spain it is quite developed among the upper class, but rudimentary among the common people. The year before last, a monumental fountain was commissioned for the Piazza del Terme in Rome, and when it was completed, the councillors visited it to inspect it and agree on the date of its inauguration. The architect had taken the liberty of adding, as decoration, some nude women in poses that were considered indecent by some councillors, so the date for unveiling the monument could not be agreed upon. The people, without anyone's permission, unveiled it one fine day and found it to their liking, and there it remained, displaying that example of the atavistic sentiment of that people. In Chile, a mistaken understanding of beauty, contrary to the national sentiment of honesty, is making the nude in sculpture fashionable in Santiago, which causes scandal amongst the people, whose instincts have not been warped by matriarchal discourses on beauty. It is the country's labour newspapers that protest most vigorously against masked balls, carnivals and other spectacles in which indecency sets the tone of the festivities. The workers of Tarapacá have repeatedly protested against the indecent language used by the shopkeepers in the saltpetre offices towards their wives when they go to do their shopping. No one has heeded these complaints, perhaps because they are deemed unimportant to the common man, whose feelings on the matter are judged by those of the working-class masses, the countrymen of these shopkeepers, and by the figures depicted in the novels of Latin nations.

Zola's novels, artistic snapshots of the customs of the French people, are, for any observer and connoisseur of our customs, clear proof of the complete difference between the French and Chilean common people. Nothing in them applies to our people, least of all their domestic customs. Zola touched the human heart deeply on occasion, reaching out to all races with his talent; but beyond that, in all other respects, he is entirely French, or at most, southern. Not even the crimes he describes are known among us; that marriage of two old people who slowly poison one another by putting arsenic in their spouse's salt shaker, which he depicts in **The Human Beast**, is utterly incomprehensible to a Chilean of the people. That beast is not human, in the general sense given to it by its author, because it does not concern us. The geographical scope of that beast is more limited than Zola believed.

The very language used by the author is completely unacceptable to the people of Chile. For those novels, as for others that describe base customs in indecent language—a Latin-style of literature—it would not suffice among us to label them on the covers

‘for men only’ but ‘for certain men of the wealthy class only’, because the people of Chile retain their hereditary instincts intact in this as in everything else. The moral perversion that so rightly alarms patriotic Chileans and which is currently making its way into our country under the guise of culture is a far cry from the common man.

In one of the Santiago newspapers tasked with denigrating us, which the last steamer brought me, I read: ‘The corruption of the lower classes’, referring to Chileans and in connection with a drunken brawl. That is the common way of speaking of the people in the newspapers and books of southern Europe, and there such corruption of the lower classes may be natural; but in Chile, let that newspaperman know, the peasant does not even know by name the hundred vices that corrode the soul and bones of some of his compatriots in the cities. When the labourer from the country’s fields, villages or small towns arrives in the capital, he hears there, for the first time in his life, certain words that startle his childlike soul, and even if he were to live a hundred years in that city, he would always remain ignorant of many of those things, for they have no place in his mind.

b) Sancho and the peasant:

‘Intending to write a book of contemporary events, his colossal genius created a book for all times and for all men,’ says Don Diego Barros of Cervantes and his masterpiece. Surely this author did not set out to write about the differential ethnic psychology of the two races that inhabited the Peninsula in his time, but his marvellous power of observation, in depicting the contrast between the lofty, chivalrous sentiments of the nobleman Don Quixote and the coarse, materialistic, selfish instincts of the rustic Sancho, painted a portrait—albeit an exaggerated one—of the mindset of those two races.

Cervantes took a model from the knight of the noble race, which he knew full well was of Gothic origin, as he expressly states. Among the poetic compositions that Cervantes included at the beginning of his book, there is a sonnet entitled ‘The Knight of Phoebus to Don Quixote of La Mancha’, whose two tercets read:

‘Love him as a unique and rare miracle.

And in his misfortune, even hell itself

Feared my arm, which tamed its fury.

But speak, Gothic Quixote, illustrious and clear.

Through Dulcinea you are known to the whole world.

And she, through you, is famous, honest and wise.”

Farmers and peasants belong to the native race in every country.

The physical appearance of the two main characters in this brilliant work is certainly worthy of note. Don Quixote is ‘a tall man, with a gaunt face, long and slender limbs, greying hair, an aquiline and somewhat hooked nose, and a large, black, drooping moustache’. The nose, and above all the colour of the moustache, make Don Quixote a man of mixed race. Cervantes could not have been unaware that the noblemen of his time were fair-haired, as shown by the hundreds of portraits that remain of them, just as he himself was fair-haired, a nobleman of noble lineage. Don Quixote’s nose leads me to reject the idea that he belonged to the few nobles of Ostrogothic-Tatar origin; however, the direction of the moustache hairs, whether pointing upwards or downwards, seems Mongolian or Tatar. Don Quixote’s figure is, therefore, that of an Iberian-Gothic mestizo. Why did Cervantes choose a mestizo rather than a Goth of pure lineage? A nobleman of noble lineage, and blond and tall, were ideas associated in Spain at that time. I believe it is in the Louvre where there is an old painting depicting Don Quixote and his squire, in which the figure of the nobleman is fair-haired and blue-eyed. The painter thought he was correcting Cervantes on this point, but I am sure he was mistaken. Cervantes painted the physical and moral portrait of a mixed-race man, of a man unbalanced in

body and soul—a character type that his genius as an observer led him to prefer as the most fitting for his hero. It is most noteworthy that the two madmen whom Cervantes, with a masterful hand—as a professor of mental illness might do—paints for us in his work, had black sideburns. That madman of love whom Don Quixote encountered in the Sierra Morena, ‘El Roto de la Mala Figura’, as Cervantes calls him, also had a black beard, according to the author, and his status as a nobleman is declared by the madman himself:

‘My name is Cardenio, my homeland is one of the finest cities in this Andalusia, my lineage is noble, my parents are wealthy, my misfortune so great that my parents must have wept for it and my lineage must have felt it.’

I am convinced that Cervantes, in this work which appears all the more admirable the more deeply one studies it, deliberately chose a moral hybrid, in whom the most noble ideals that drive him reach the extreme of the deranged man’s insane fantasy, and lent his character the physical form that his experience suggested to him as the most appropriate.

The portrait of Sancho Panza is the perfect embodiment, both physically and morally, of the balanced type of the rustic Iberian. Cervantes had to choose him, however, as simple as was necessary so that he might not be certain of his master’s madness, and might believe in his promises and accompany him on his adventures.

Spanish critics are unanimous in regarding Sancho as the archetype of the common man, somewhat simpler than the average person, but with his characteristic coarseness, gluttony, selfishness, laziness and timidity. He represents the prose of life, the positive, the down-to-earth, the sensible, in contrast to the knight, who embodies pure poetry, the ideal, that which nourishes but does not fatten, the fantastic, the senseless.

Sancho, to compensate for his simplicity, is a perpetual chatterbox, at times eloquent and even witty. Full of sayings that either hit the nail on the head or go off on a tangent, as Don Quixote used to say, but always amusing. The mischief, the sarcasm, the pranks he played on his master, the little white lies of the good squire—typical of the country folk of that land—make Sancho a funny, likeable character for Hispanic readers. They see in him, portrayed by Cervantes’s masterful hand, the common people of the Peninsula. They are right, but they are completely mistaken when they claim that Cervantes depicted in Sancho the common people of all countries, that he is the portrait of the ordinary man of all races.

Few characters are more utterly opposed than Sancho and the ‘roto’, and it is remarkable how some national writers, following the Spanish example, find that Sancho can represent the lowest type in any society. It is more than likely that the moral image of that squire, so familiar to Chilean intellectuals, has contributed greatly to forming the utterly false judgement they hold of the ‘roto’. In my youth, struck by this dissimilarity, I adapted certain scenes from Don Quixote, replacing the illustrious

Manchego with a Chilean roto. I had to completely change the course of the adventure and its conclusion. Let anyone who knows anything of the character of our people try this, even if only mentally, and they will see that the same happens to them as happened to me. Take a roto as simple as is necessary to make Don Quixote seem sane, and give him this man as his squire, either alone or accompanied by Sancho, as I have done, and one will feel the moral antithesis existing between these two commoners.

To refresh your memory, I shall quote a few lines from Don Quixote that describe Sancho and to which no other character could possibly be more aptly applied:

‘-Sir, I am a peaceful, gentle, and calm man, and I know how to bear any insult, for I have a wife and children to support and raise. So let it be known to you, sir, for it cannot be commanded, that in no way shall I lay hand to the sword, neither against a villain nor against a knight, and that from this day forward, before God, I forgive all the wrongs that have been done to me and shall be done to me, whether they have been done, are being done, or shall be done by anyone, high or low, rich or poor, noble or commoner, without distinction of any rank or condition.

Hearing this, his master replied:

‘I wish I had the breath to speak a little more calmly, and that the pain I have in this rib might ease just enough to make you understand, Panza, the error you are in. Come here, sinner, etc.’

In the adventure of the fulling mills, after pointing out to Sancho the terrifying noises, the darkness of the night and the other frightening circumstances that accompanied them, Don Quixote begins this discourse thus:

‘-For all that I describe to you are incentives and stirrers of my spirit, which already make my heart burst in my chest with the desire it has to undertake this adventure, however difficult it may seem: So tighten Rocinante’s girths a little, and God be with you, and wait for me here for no more than three days; if I have not returned by then, you may return to our village, and from there, as a favour to me and a good deed, you shall go to Toboso, where you shall tell my incomparable lady Dulcinea that her captive knight died in the pursuit of deeds that would make him worthy of being called hers.

When Sancho heard his master’s words, he began to weep with the greatest tenderness in the world and said to him:

‘Sir, I do not know why you wish to undertake this most perilous adventure: it is night now, no one can see us here; we might well take a different path and avoid the danger, even if we go without drink for three days; and since there is no one to see us, there will be even fewer to call us cowards: all the more so as I have often heard the priest of our village preach—whom you know very well—that he who seeks danger perishes in it: so it is not

wise to tempt God by undertaking such a reckless deed, from which one cannot escape save by a miracle; and even the favours heaven has shown you in saving you from being thrown into the air as I was, and in bringing you out victorious, free and safe from among so many enemies who accompanied the deceased; and if all this does not move or soften that hard heart, let it be moved by the thought and belief that no sooner will you have left this place than I shall, out of fear, give up my soul to whomever wishes to take it.”

Later, in one of the adventures in the Sierra Morena, Don Quixote tells Sancho to search in one direction whilst he goes in another, to which the witty Sancho replies:

‘-I cannot do that, for the moment I leave your presence, fear takes hold of me, assailing me with a thousand kinds of startles and visions; and let what I say here serve as a warning, so that from now on I shall not move a finger’s breadth from your side.’

If the ragged man does not appear even in the slightest in these passages, he is even less discernible in Sancho’s particularly disrespectful behaviour towards his master: he butts into every conversation the master strikes up with another person, contradicts him, advises him and even threatens him. He talks so much that his master begs him to be quiet, cites examples of silent squires, and finally goes so far as to forbid him from speaking, which Sancho ignores. And finally, Sancho, in an altercation with his natural master, came to blows with him: ‘and lunging at his master, he grappled with him in a fierce struggle; and tripping him up, he knocked him to the ground face up; he placed his right knee on his chest, and held his hands so that he could neither move nor breathe. Don Quixote said to him:

“‘What, traitor, do you dare to rebel against your natural master and lord? Who do you think you are to defy him?”

‘I neither depose kings nor appoint them,’ replied Sancho, ‘but I help myself, for I am my own master.’

It is true that Don Quixote wished to give his squire a few lashes on account of the part which, according to Merlin’s prescription, the squire was to play so that the lady might be disenchanted from the knight; but even so, that scene of struggle, that trip, and the knee to his master’s chest, after which Sancho carries on as if nothing had happened, stringing together proverbs and accompanying Don Quixote, is as absurd as it could possibly be for a Chilean. A commoner who, for any reason whatsoever—however justified—had behaved in such a manner

to his master, would have fled from his side forever. In the same way, a cowardly peasant feels such shame at his cowardice that not even for the sake of all the islands in the world would he be displaying his mean-spiritedness at every turn before his master, or before anyone else. The attitude of the peasant towards a master who treats him well, who proves in a thousand ways that he values him, is that of a protector, of a defender of his master on all occasions. He will always be the first to face the danger that threatens him, the one who will march forward into the unknown and where dangers are presumed; that is to say, he will adopt the attitude of Don Quixote rather than that of Sancho. This wretched squire—cowardly, talkative, a liar, and utterly lacking in respect for his superior—would be an incomprehensible monster to a Chilean *roto*. That is the truth. Sancho may be very funny and charming, and regarded as discreet by Spanish and Latin American literary figures, but to the *roto* he remains an extraordinarily rare and exceedingly shameful moral phenomenon. Neither the adventure of the windmills, nor that of the lions, nor any other would have been, for a commoner, a clearer sign of the poor knight's madness than that of taking with him on his warlike expeditions a man as useless as Sancho.

Whilst the Germans and Sismondi have found *Don Quixote* to be the saddest book ever written, inasmuch as in it the most generous intentions are met only with blows and mockery, for the English this book is the most immoral of all those ever published. That book, they say, which is compulsory reading in schools and colleges across Spain, and which is the constant subject of study and reflection among its educated men, has gone so far as to destroy the Spaniards' former lofty and chivalrous ideals, for fear of being branded as Quixotes, and the meaning of 'Quixotism' has gradually expanded until it now applies to simply generous acts, whereas the good Sancho, the witty Sancho, the practical Sancho, the man of hearty appetite and long sleep, seems to be held up as an example worthy of imitation by men of sense and sound mind, who do not wish to fall into the quixotic follies of that Manchurian whose 'brain dried up' whilst thinking of establishing the reign of justice, righting wrongs, aiding the oppressed, protecting maidens and widows, helping the needy, and other such declared madresses. In Cervantes' defence, it is worth remembering that he never censures Don Quixote for his generous follies, just as he never applauds Sancho's meanness. Cervantes confines himself to recounting.

The '*roto*' is not, therefore, the Latin rabble; the '*roto*' is a distinct race in body and soul. The evils of slavishly imitating the institutions of the Latin peoples, their social and aesthetic ideals, and their moral customs can be so disastrous for a people of such a determined patriarchal mindset as the Chileans that they not only disrupt their organic development but halt, nullify and destroy it.

What has been said of the common people of France and Spain applies to those of Italy. Anyone wishing to understand the customs of the lower classes of this nation may read H. Taine's fine book *A Journey in Italy*, or the works of Italian writers such as Sergi, Ferri, Garofalo, etc. Neither the vices nor the virtues of that people are our own: they have a different soul. Artists by nature, their aesthetic ideals are unique to them. It is a very common mistake among southern European critics to believe that what is beautiful to one race must be so to all. Not even purely plastic, material beauty arouses the same feelings or stirs the same passions in dissimilar peoples, let alone works of art specifically

intended to stir the fundamental sentiments of morality or society. The masterpiece of Italian literature, *The Divine Comedy*, is far from being regarded as a truly poetic work by critics from other countries. For Mommsen, Dante's work is merely a rhetorical piece, polished, with beautiful turns of phrase, marvellous descriptions and vivid imagery, yet lacking the lofty and profound inspiration of the true poet:

'The highest and most successful productions of his genius, the divine effusions of Dante's *Comedy*, the masterpieces of Sallust and Machiavelli, of Tacitus and Colletta, are works of rhetoricians rather than of passion.'

(History of Rome, Volume I, page 322, Góngora edition)

The social and moral underpinnings of the *Divine Comedy* clash with the ideals of other peoples. Private vengeance, which lies at the heart of the entire work, is regarded as deeply divisive in the current state of civilisation. Ascham in England had already complained of the disastrous influence its reading had on English customs. Taine reserves the harshest criticism for the morality of the *Divine Comedy*, as can be seen in his work *English Literature*, 'The Origins', page 222, 'Modern Spain'.

Critics from Santiago who have acquired the habit of regarding their observations as universal, however limited they may be, must remember that this tendency to generalise signifies, in the vast majority of cases, nothing more than a lack of analytical spirit and a limited power of observation: what they believe to be universal is so only in their own minds, which have not been struck by the real differences between things. Their fellow countrymen, who shun his company, cannot judge the Chilean labourer, and to believe him to be the same as the southern European rabble—whom they know intimately—is to fall into a gross error. To regard him as inferior because his daily wage is not enough to clothe him in cashmere and a cloth hat betrays a lack of understanding of the responsibility borne by those who direct his fate. To confuse facile rhetoric with intelligence, and petulance with aptitude, is characteristic only of mental short-sightedness.

If there is anyone in Cervantes' work who can be compared to the 'roto', it is rather the madman from La Mancha than the 'sensible' squire. Apart from the insane exaggerations of that unbalanced half-breed of Goth and Iberian, the soul of Don Quixote is, for the 'roto', the natural soul of a man of good character. We shall see some Quixotic Chileans later on. Some people from Santiago often mock their compatriots from Talca, saying that they boast of possessing in the Cathedral an authentic tap from the nobleman of La Mancha. May God preserve it!

c) The star and the national colours:

Whilst the practical men of Santiago are busy ‘settling’ the Araucanians, that is, taking away the meagre lands we have left them to give them away, not to the Chilean, their conqueror, but to inferior races brought with our money from distant countries, on the pretext of populating a region that is teeming with inhabitants, as we shall see later, and with the practical aim of dividing those lands between the outsiders and themselves, I shall conclude this section by recalling that we owe the colours of our national flag and its symbolic and beloved star to that majestic race, as Isidoro Errázuriz called them.

The Araucanians carried at the head of their squadrons a small red flag bearing a white five-pointed star. That star is the one on our flag and on our coat of arms. The chiefs and officers commanding the indigenous troops wore as a badge a tricoloured sash across the chest, like the one that serves as the insignia of our presidents, and in the same colours; a sash that was also sometimes worn by the soldiers when they were part of an elite unit.

The supreme decree of 1832, which definitively established the form and values of our coat of arms, stated in this regard:

‘In it, Congress shall observe a field of two colours whose well-known attributes fit perfectly with the nature of the country and the character of its inhabitants. The silver star is the emblem that our indigenous peoples always displayed on their banners and the same one that represents that dear flag under whose shadow the homeland has been crowned with so many glorious laurels.’

Regarding the national colours, we have the account of an eyewitness:

“After this came Talcahuano,

Whose land is embraced and surrounded by the sea,

A thick mast in his right hand,

Which, like a reed, he waves,

Adorned with tall, lush feathers,

Followed by his fighting men,

Worn diagonally across their chests,

Blue, white and red bands.”

(Stanza 40, Canto XX of La Araucana, Köing edition)

Chapter IX

Crime. Morality. Criminal statistics

1. Lack of serious studies on crime in Chile. 2. Basis of all criminal statistics. 3. Crime in the foreign colonies in Chile and comparison with the national figures. 4.- Influence of drunkenness on crime among the various colonies. 5.- Causes of excessive crime among foreign colonies. 6.- Crime committed by women. 7.- False official data on Chilean crime and its correction. 8.- Official comments and calculations on national crime. Necessary reservations. 9.- 'Equality before the law'. Civil crimes and barbaric crimes. The significance of the latter. 10.- Famous Chilean criminals who are not of Chilean race. The influence of the political awakening of the Chilean people on their behaviour.

1. Lack of serious studies on crime in Chile.

Sir: Young columnists from almost every newspaper in the country have written about crime in Chile, but no serious study on such an important subject has come to my attention.

The press's constant outcries regarding crime have instilled in the public consciousness—and even abroad—the painful and disheartening certainty that our race is composed of born criminals and convicts, some of whom are housed in their respective cells whilst others remain on provisional release, and that Chile is a new Calabria.

It is true, unfortunately, that in our country attacks on individuals and violent crimes are very frequent; but are they so numerous as to justify the alarm raised by the press? No, sir; such alarm is completely unjustified; it is merely one manifestation of that smear campaign against us in which, for the past few years, a section of the press in Santiago and Valparaíso has been engaged, relying on falsified official documents provided to them by our government. Sad as it is to say, this is the case, and the times demand that these facts be clarified.

I have seen so many errors committed by those who judge us that I am always ready to verify the assertions made in official documents and by writers who have

undertaken the task of discrediting our country, by discrediting its ethnic foundation, the Chilean peasant, and attributing to him the responsibility for all the evils afflicting Chile today.

I lost faith in speeches many years ago, and have even come to believe that they are a sign of racial inferiority; consequently, on this matter of our criminality, I have not been swayed by what the newspapers or official reports say, but rather, bearing in mind that 'numbers are more eloquent than Demosthenes', I have consulted the statistics on the subject, where I have found what you will see.

2. The basis of all crime statistics.

To calculate the relative frequency of people's actions, it is necessary to first establish their number as accurately as possible.

The Republic's last census was that of 1895, which recorded a registered population of 2,712,145 individuals, of whom 72,812 were foreigners and 2,639,333 were Chileans.

The head of that operation states, on page IX of his 'Preliminary Report' on the General Census, that in view of the reasons he gives, ten per cent must be added to that total figure to obtain as close an approximation as possible of the true population of Chile, as he estimates that to be the proportion of inhabitants who were not registered in the rural districts of the Republic. Thus, on page x, he gives 2,983,359 as the total population, a figure very close to the true one.

As foreigners live in cities or towns of any significance, the figure given for them is considered accurate, so that ten per cent of the total registered population must be added to the figure for Chileans, which gives a Chilean population of 2,910,547 in November 1895.

Unfortunately, there are no data on crime by neighbourhood for that year, so we must turn to the following year, in which the required figures are found.

In 1896, 1,114 contracted immigrants and some 400 independent immigrants arrived in Chile, giving a total of 1,514, which, when added to those already in the country, makes 74,326 foreigners. It is known that very few of the contracted immigrants remained in Chile, but as there are no exact figures, we consider them to be present.

The 'Statistical Summary' of 1896 gives Chile's population as 3,008,569; subtracting the foreign population for that year yields a figure of 2,934,243 for Chileans.

In the following calculations, I refer only to men, both nationals and foreigners, who have committed crimes, because the number of women in some communities is relatively lower than

of Chilean women compared to the Chilean population as a whole. Furthermore, women in our country must fulfil here the sad social role that most often brings them into contact with the law.

3. Crime in foreign communities in Chile and comparison with the national figure

In 1896, there were a total of 29,345 prisoners in Chile, of whom 27,229 were nationals and 2,114 were foreigners.

Dividing the number of Chilean inhabitants by the number of Chilean prisoners, we find a ratio of 107 and a fraction, which indicates that for every 107 Chileans, one spent at least one night in police custody or avoided it by posting bail.

Performing the same calculation with the number of foreign residents and foreign prisoners, we find that among them, one in every 35 people has committed a crime.

There are, therefore, proportionally, more than three times as many offenders among foreigners as there are among us.

(‘Statistical Synopsis of 1901’, page 292, for the population and general crime rates, and ‘1897 Statistical Overview’, page 133, for prisoners by nationality during the year 1896).

In 1895 there were in Chile:

8,296 Spaniards.

7,809 French nationals.

7,587 Italians.

7,049 Germans.

6,241 English.

To calculate the number of people from each of the above colonies in 1896, I have added 250 to each figure—an excessive number, no doubt, given the total number of foreigners arriving that year, but one I have included so as not to underestimate the figures in any case regarding the country’s five most important colonies.

Now, in that year there were 187 Spanish convicts; this figure, when used as a divisor for the Spanish population in that same year—that is, $8,296 + 250 = 8,546$ —gives us one Spanish convict for every 45 people of that nationality.

Applying the same calculation to the other colonies mentioned, the following figures are obtained: French convicts 140, one for every 57 people; Italian convicts, 179, one for every 43; German convicts, 119, one for every 61; English convicts, 231, one for every 28.

Using the same calculation, the following figures are obtained, listed in ascending order of criminality.

In 1896 there was one prisoner for every:

196 Swiss

107 Chileans

61 Germans

57 French

45 Spaniards

44 Argentinians

43 Italians

33 Austrians

28 Bolivians

27 English

27 Peruvians

27 Belgians

16 Chinese

13 Scandinavians

10 Uruguayans

6 Greeks

The crime statistics by nationality for 1896 can be found in the '1897 Synopsis', page 133. Those relating to the number of people from each nationality in 1895 are in the '1900 Synopsis', pages 127 and following.

You can see what a prominent position we occupy in that column.

There are still a few considerations to take into account, which are in our favour.

4. The influence of drunkenness on crime in the various colonies

Not all legal codes consider drunkenness to be a mitigating circumstance, but all criminal lawyers take into serious account the temporary mental impairment caused by alcohol intoxication when judging the criminality of acts committed in that state.

Of the 29,345 prisoners in 1896, 13,227 committed offences whilst intoxicated.

Among those drunken convicts are my countrymen, I am sure, for the Chilean is prone to becoming irritable and belligerent when he drinks wine. The German has his sentimental or apathetic beer, conditions that give the police little to do. The Frenchman merely tips his hat, rarely exceeding fifty proof and always bearing in mind that a man must be cultured above all else, so he does not commit any follies in that state either. The Spaniard drinks little and on rare occasions, and never exceeding sixty or sixty-five proof; his wine is expansive and friendly, venting through speech the fleeting overexcitement of alcohol. The Italian hardly ever gets drunk, and his drinking is distrustful and cautious, avoiding disturbances.

Naturally, there are exceptions to these rules. There are Chileans who get either laughing or weeping, Germans who become rowdy, Frenchmen who turn unbearable and rowdy, Italians who become spiteful and bloodthirsty, and Spaniards who become fanciful and quarrelsome. Nor is it always necessary for them to reach the aforementioned levels for each to reveal their character, for in some it becomes apparent as soon as they start to get tipsy.

That fateful figure of thirteen thousand-odd also includes the English and Scandinavian sailors from the merchant ships that arrive on our shores, who, likewise, are fond of and frequently drink whisky. The captains of these ships go straight to the port police to look for their men who have gone ashore with permission, confident of finding them sleeping it off in their cells, not one missing.

As for the Scandinavians, the above assertion is borne out by the fact that all their offenders have ended up in the port police stations. As this community is very small in Chile (467 individuals), with the crew of two ships that come ashore each year, or the police—which amounts to the same thing—it already has a criminal rate high enough to place it in the column below the sober Chinese.

The police record the nationality of the offenders without specifying whether they are resident in the country or merely passing through, an observation they ought to make in their records so that

resident countrymen—who are the only ones who make up the colony—are not held accountable for the legal troubles of those wretches who arrive here with a pent-up thirst from long months of sailing and forced abstinence, which they vent by keeping their elbows raised until their arms drop after reaching the hundred-point mark.

5. Causes of excessive crime in foreign settlements.

It is not possible to compare the crime rates of nationals and foreigners in the following years because the essential data on the number of foreigners settled in the country is missing. Crime among the latter has risen sharply in recent years, but this is likely due to the fact that the number of foreigners has also increased excessively.

The Synopses calculate the total population for each year solely on the basis of data provided by the Civil Registry and the gradual increase in population recorded from one census to the next; yet even so, without taking into account the significantly higher crime rate among foreigners, it is clear that there is no cause for alarm regarding our crime rate, as shown in the table below:

Year	Population	Prisoners	one per
1897	3,049,352	30,622	99
1898	3,082,178	27,020	114
1899	3,110,085	27,848	111
1900	3,128,095	27,844	112

1901
3,146,577
27,820
113

(Data from the Synopsis published in 1902, page 292).

You can see that, apart from the slight increase in 1897, the ratio fluctuates imperceptibly, remaining consistently lower than that of 1895—which, as we saw, stood at one in every 107—and showing a tendency to improve in recent years.

You may have been surprised by the excessive and alarming crime rate among foreigners in Chile, compared to that of nationals, given that there are European nations whose crime rate is lower than ours.

In Europe, one observes in every country what Joly found to be the case in France, namely that the criminality of foreigners, especially those from neighbouring countries, is always higher than that of the natives. The reason is clear: scoundrels, whenever they can, put a border between themselves and the justice of their own country. The remoteness of our homeland has always been a natural factor in the selection of immigrants arriving from the Old World; but if we not only artificially shorten that distance, but also eliminate it by paying for their passage and offering them wages and land in this remote corner of the continent, so far removed from the police forces of their own countries, they will gladly come to indulge their wicked instincts amongst us. And here they are.

You can be sure that foreigners who come to Chile on their own initiative will not have a higher crime rate than in their respective countries; but the immigrants brought in en masse, recruited by agents to whom our agency in Paris pays up to ten pesos per head, or gathered by businessmen without any oversight from our government, so that they may come and take possession of our territorial heritage, making a fortune directly proportional to the number of individuals they bring, will surely be vagrants, criminals and cretins from European countries.

As regards what is happening today in Chile, the above is not a supposition. Among the data I possess on the subject, I quote a passage from the book **Chiloé**, recently published by A. Wéber, S., our government's inspector of colonisation and a person well-versed in these matters. It reads as follows, on page 170:

‘A Chilean gentleman who was travelling in Europe at that time, upon passing through a certain little village for the first time, was frequently visited and feted by the authorities. Surprised, he asked them what the reason was:

‘The fact is, sir,’ replied the mayor, ‘that a couple of months ago a man passed through here who took a good number of the town’s rogues and scoundrels, posing as settlers, to an island called Chiloé, and as we still have a few left and you are Chilean, we believe that...’.

Mr Wéber is referring to 1895, when the colonisation of that island began, with the police expelling the Chileans who were cultivating small plots of their country's soil there; these men were handed over, along with the land, animals, farming equipment and houses built by the Chilotes themselves, to those criminals, some of whom naturally proceeded to murder Chilotes, until they were given passage to move north.

Those same agents have continued to recruit other immigrants for the rest of the country. There are sub-agents in Europe who are criminals whom the police keep a close eye on, and colonisation entrepreneurs in Chile who are pardoned convicts or adventurous journalists. But this subject of national colonisation will provide me with material for a future piece.

This explains the appalling crime rates in our overseas colonies.

It is therefore certain that the number of Chilean prisoners in recent years must be proportionally much lower than that of foreigners, and thus our crime rate must have fallen to a greater extent than the overall calculation given above suggests. This is precisely what the Superintendent of the Santiago Penitentiary asserts in his latest report.

In recent days, one of the capital's newspapers has published a protest by the commander of the Border Gendarmes against the press's assertions that those regions are infested with bands of armed bandits who rob and murder at will. Commander Trizano states that there are no such bandits, either in gangs or of any kind, and adds that crimes are rare, far less frequent than in the north of the country. I, who am here in the north, also take issue with what the commander has said. I live in the heart of the Tamarugal Pampas, and I can assure you that within a radius of six leagues, with more than ten thousand men spread across the saltpetre works, and with the ease of fleeing and hiding in the salt flats, and with no more than four policemen in the town of Dolores, nevertheless, apart from the occasional drunken brawl, there are no such criminals.

What, then, is the meaning of the unanimous and daily outcry in the Santiago press regarding the terrible increase in scoundrels among the Chilean people? Hype, sir.

Perhaps with the aim of providing their readers with sensational news, they cut out from their exchanges across the whole Republic the crimes they find and announce them in bold type and with hair-raising phrases, whether they are relevant or not. It is common to read in those newspapers the account of some 'horrific suicide' by a bored man who bit into a stick of dynamite, or the 'savage murder' of one man who killed another in a knife fight, or the 'horrible crime of an unnatural mother' due to the infanticide committed by some unhappy woman abandoned by a coward. Hype; and as they imagine this discredits the poor wretch

, who has no one to stand up for him, they merrily continue their campaign without realising what they are doing.

6. Female criminality.

As for the criminality of Chilean women, I was telling you that it was not fair to compare it with that of the foreign colonies, since these do not have among them the proportion of females that corresponds to the natural ratio, that is, as many as men, with only slight differences. The five largest European colonies do not have 75% of the women they ought to have. This fact must be borne in mind to reduce the crime rate among foreigners somewhat, since men are everywhere six or eight times more likely to commit crimes than women. It should be remembered that the social role, necessary though unfortunate, of the prostitute—a source of crime—weighs heavily on the record of Chilean women.

Despite these two factors working against our compatriots, a comparison of the number of their crimes with the total Chilean population, and that of female foreign offenders compared with the total foreign population, is favourable to my compatriots.

In 1896 there were 3,993 female prisoners, 3,827 of whom were Chilean and 166 foreign. Using these figures, it follows, by the standard method, that in that year there was one Chilean female prisoner for every 766 Chilean inhabitants, and one foreign female prisoner for every 447 foreigners ('Synopsis of 1897', page 133, for crime, and 'Synopsis of 1901', page 292, for the population).

The vast majority of female prisoners come from brothels, as is evident from the fact that of the 6,319 female prisoners, both nationals and foreigners, in 1900, more than half—that is, 3,736—were in Santiago and Valparaíso alone.

7. False official data on Chilean crime and its correction.

The alarmist cries regarding the rise in our crime rate date back some three or four years, and they have taken root in the falsified data provided by official documents, as I have said, from which foreign statistics have likewise drawn their figures. I must now set out to prove the truth of that sad assertion.

Of all the official documents in which the people of our country are systematically denigrated, none has made a more bitter impression on me than the falsification of the country's crime statistics, because these figures are recorded by foreign statistics without verifying the operations that produced them, since they do not

You would never imagine that we ourselves have falsified them to our own detriment. Those statistics have cost me many sleepless nights, and yet, I assure you, I would not have undertaken the thankless task of exposing them before the people were it not for the fact that their mendacious data are invoked to wrest from my race the soil of its homeland, still drenched in the blood of its forefathers, in order to hand it over to the lowest strata of races foreign and inferior to our own. It must be done, and the task is urgent in view of the haste with which our rulers are distributing our meagre inheritance amongst people from the five corners of the world.

In 1900, the Chilean government ordered the compilation and publication of prison statistics for the Republic that were as complete and detailed as possible, covering the period from 1894 onwards. It was compiled and published in a large quarto volume under the title Statistics of Prisons and Penitentiaries for the years 1894–1899 and was widely distributed both at home and abroad.

That ill-fated book, which bears on its cover the name of our country and a mutilated and absurd coat of arms, was the one that spread the false alarm of our high crime rate far and wide.

On pages XX and XXI of the book’s preface, which contain general summaries of the data provided in the text, there is this table of offenders convicted of homicides of all kinds: homicides, parricides, patricides and infanticides.

FOR PRISONS

Years
Men
Women

1894
109
0

1895
154
0

1896
161
0

1897
127
0

1898
130
0

1899
155
0

Total:
836
0

FOR PRISONS

Years
Men
Women

1895
32
5

1896
38
11

1897
27
5

1898
32
6

1899
32
7

Total:
161
34

Adding the three totals gives a figure of 1,031, and this is recorded in the statistics as follows:

‘The total number of violent crimes for the five-year period in question was 1,031 cases’.

As you can see, he refers to a six-year period as a 'five-year period' for the prisons.

Immediately preparing the data for the table that has horrified the world with our criminality in its most serious form, murder, it adds, referring to that figure of 1,031:

'To this we must add 1,163 injuries inflicted with the intent to kill.'

All judges in Chile know that the intent to kill in such cases can only be established on very rare occasions, constituting what is known as attempted murder, for which the most comprehensive evidence is required that the deliberate and positive intent was to take a life, and that, if the injury did not produce that result, it was due to causes beyond the defendant's control and the effectiveness of the means employed for that purpose. For this reason, convictions for attempted murder are extremely rare, and the notion of injuries 'inflicted with the intent to kill' is pure conjecture on the part of the official statistics.

Of these injuries, 696 were classified as serious, though they did not result in death, and 467 were classified as minor.

The statistics add the figures for those convicted of murder to those for serious injuries and minor injuries, arriving at a total of 2,194, which, when divided by five—as they are convinced they are calculating a five-year period—gives: 'Number of violent crimes per year, 439'.

Dividing the number 2,194 by five only gives 438 and a fraction, but the book adds another fraction to make up the whole number. It then adds:

'In relation to the number of prisoners admitted and the country's population, these figures give us the following proportions:

Number of violent crimes per year, 439.

Proportion per 100 prisoners admitted, 17.7.

Ratio per 100,000 inhabitants: 32.3."

The figure 32.3 is later rounded up by adding another decimal place: 32.36.

This ratio of more than 32 murder convicts per 100,000 inhabitants is enormous for a country, but I must state, of course, that as far as Chile is concerned, it is false.

In investigating the origin of this figure, I have made many calculations, all to no avail, because they all yield a much lower number. I have taken the average population of the country for the five-year period 1895–1899 and calculated on that basis, including the murder convicts of that period; I have added those convicted of serious and minor injuries; I have taken a six-year period of convicts and treated it as a five-year period, and all has been in vain: the result is always less than half of that stated in the statistics.

With 32.36 murderers per 100,000 inhabitants, and 439 homicides in a year, the country's population would be obtained by multiplying 439 by 100,000 and dividing the result by 32.36, an operation yielding 1,356,613—that is, slightly more than the country's population in the 1843 census. How could the author of that book have calculated the number of murderers in the 1890s using the population of Chile from half a century earlier to establish the country's crime rate?

But neither the figure from the 1843 census nor that from the 1854 census yields 32.36. There is, sir, no calculation whatsoever that produces that result. The figure that comes closest is obtained by taking the total number of murder convicts over the six years in the penitentiaries and the five years in the prisons—that is, 1,031—and assuming that all were committed in a single year, and that the population was that recorded in 1895. That calculation gives 38.0 per 100,000 inhabitants.

Bearing in mind that the 1895 census recorded a population of 2,712,145, and noting that in other calculations our statistics refer to that figure as if it were Chile's constant population, I have based my calculations on it, and the result is as follows:

Multiplying the figure of 439 annual homicide convicts by one hundred thousand, and dividing the result by the aforementioned population figure, we find the ratio of homicide convicts per hundred thousand inhabitants: the quotient is 16.18. Multiplying that number by two gives us 32.36, which, as can be seen, is the exact figure given by the official statistics.

Thus, to determine the proportion of murderers within the Chilean population, the following procedure was followed: the number of murder convicts admitted to the country's prisons over a six-year period was counted and attributed to just five years; to the murder convicts were added those convicted of causing simple injuries, whether minor or serious; a small amount was added to ensure the figures were rounded to whole numbers; the population base taken was only that registered in the first year of that five-year period, without adding the ten per cent that the very person in charge of that census deemed necessary—a ten per cent that all official summaries add for other operations; and finally, that result, already exaggerated for so many reasons, was simply multiplied by two. I shall refrain from commenting on that procedure.

Yet that is not the most serious issue. That figure, which refers to those convicted of murder and grievous bodily harm, is presented in a comparative table that has been circulated worldwide as the number of murders committed in Chile per 100,000 inhabitants each year.

On page 21, he includes this table of annual homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in some European countries:

Italy	25.29
Spain	11.91
Austria	4.01
Belgium	3.02
France	2.73
USA	2.33
Germany	1.61
England	1.60

And, naturally, it places the figure of 32.36—a figure of such unusual magnitude found for Chile—at the top of the list, with this explanatory note:

‘Assuming that this proportion of 32.3, which corresponds to those convicted of homicide, also represents the proportion of murders per 100,000 inhabitants—which cannot be far from the truth—a comparison with the figures provided by statistics from other countries would place Chile at the top of this unfortunate ranking.’

Our Criminal Code does not refer to ‘murders’ but to ‘homicides’, yet criminal lawyers term as ‘murder’ those homicides committed with aggravating circumstances, such as arson, poisoning, derailment, murder committed with the certainty of the victim’s death, etc., but

always to the completed homicide, not to attempted homicide, nor to injuries, however serious, if they did not result in death. There can be no murder without a corpse.

If only European statisticians would read that curious paragraph that begins ‘assuming’... and in which it classifies those convicted of homicide and causing injury as murderers; but they only look at the summary tables and their figures, which is why they only reproduce that table which has caused such alarm in Europe regarding our crime rates.

I must tell you that in order to secure the publication of the above, I had to take the relevant statistics to the editor, and he personally verified my calculations.

I am giving the figures for homicides in foreign countries from the table in question as they stand, even though they do not match those given in the books I possess on the subject. Thus, with regard to Italy, I do not know where he has obtained the figure he cites, nor to which year it refers, for in a study on this subject covering the three-year period 1896–1898, published by N. Colajanni in the **Rivista Popolare** of 15 February 1902, pages 61 and following, it is evident that the number of homicides committed varies greatly depending on the region of that country, being extremely high in the south and its islands, reaching the enormous figure of 47.76 per 100,000 inhabitants in Girguenti, whilst in the north they are relatively insignificant, bringing the annual average for that three-year period down to just 12.38 homicides of all kinds per 100,000 inhabitants.

The annual rate of bodily injury for that same period was 277.20 per 100,000, a figure that Colajanni is very careful not to add to the homicide figure, let alone present as a proportion of murders.

That misleading figure of 32.36 cannot be a typographical error, as it is repeated several times in the book, nor is it a calculation error, since it corresponds, down to the second decimal place, to the calculation I have shown.

Even the simplest calculation errors are extremely common in this publication. Without leaving page 20, one can see these tables and their calculations, preceded by this section:

‘All the criminals we have just analysed, both nationals and foreigners, have caused society numerous loss of life and substantial damage to its interests, both private and general; this is demonstrated by the following table:

PRISONS

Years
Dead
Wounded

1894
101
17

1895
126
27

1896
132
10

1897
111
27

1898
116
19

1899
135
21

Total:
721
121

PRISONS

Years
Killed
Wounded

1895
36
155

1896
52
235

1897
38
216

1898
35
268

1899
43
168

Total:
204
1,042

That is, 925 people killed and 1,163 injured, of whom 696 were seriously injured, with the remaining injuries being minor.

Annual average:

161 deaths;

135 seriously injured;

93 with minor injuries.

Copied word for word, with the sole changes of placing the words 'dead', etc., to the headings of the columns to facilitate publication in the narrow columns of the press; in the book, these words appear immediately after the figures.

With the total number of injured being 1,163, and the number of seriously injured 696, this leaves 467 as the figure for those with minor injuries. By dividing these numbers by five—since he insists on treating the six years of the penitentiaries as a five-year period—and adding them up at the bottom of the columns, he has obtained the annual averages he notes.

Given that the total number of deaths over the five-year period was 925, the annual average is 185, not 161. Similarly, the annual average for seriously injured persons is not 135 but 139. The only figure he gets right is that for the slightly injured, which is actually 93. Out of three rough divisions into fives, he gets two wrong; and so it is with the whole of that book to which we owe the dismal reputation of criminals.

The true proportion of murder convicts per 100,000 inhabitants in Chile, and for each year of the five-year period 1895–1899, is obtained from the data provided in the book itself as follows:

Prisoners in penitentiaries:
727

Prisoners in penal colonies:

195

Total:

922

Which, divided by five, gives: 184.4.

The average population during that period, according to data from the 1901 Synopsis, published in 1902, page 292, is 3,046,708, which gives a ratio of murder convicts of 6.05 per 100,000 inhabitants, thus being nearly half the ratio of Spain, and more than four times lower than Italy.

8. Comments and official calculations on national crime rates. Necessary reservations.

The comments with which our government's book accompanies the results of its calculations are so naive that they would be laughable were it not for the gravity of the matter.

Noting the excessive criminality among foreigners residing in Chile, it wonders whether the cause might not be that 'they become more depraved amongst us', perhaps through the influence of 'our working classes'.

On the same page XX, following its tables covering six-year periods for those convicted of homicide, or 'murder' as it calls them, it expresses great surprise at the high proportion accounted for by certain specific professions, singling out saddlers—who make up one-tenth of a per cent of the total number of convicts—and shoemakers—who account for four-tenths of a per cent. It would seem that the trade of shoemaking inclines a man to crimes of bloodshed, a problem that must have prompted deep reflection on the part of our criminologist. What might be the hidden cause of such a perverse inclination? Might it not be that these men, by virtue of their trade, spend the whole day with a knife in their hand, and that in their quarrels, instead of landing a slap, they deliver a slash? It could well be so, for, in support of this supposition, there is the fact, verified everywhere, that injuries inflicted with a crutch are peculiar to the guild of the lame. Unless, that is, these cripples develop a special inclination to use as a blunt weapon that instrument so seldom employed by the rest of criminals.

Following the publication of the ill-fated book in question, our Government has, every year, commissioned the printing of a thick, lavishly produced volume, featuring photogravure plates and colour diagrams, which repeats the figures from previous volumes and adds those for the year under review.

In all these volumes, the same childish observations are made, and results are noted that are sometimes absurd, sometimes malicious.

The latest major volume of these so-called 'Criminal Statistics' to have been published is that of 1902, containing data from the previous year. This book bases its calculations as it does in this paragraph on page 13:

'Given that the total population of Chile is 2,712,145 inhabitants, and the total number of prisoners admitted to prisons is 34,265 individuals, it follows that the crime rate for the Republic amounts to 12.6 prisoners per 1,000 inhabitants'.

As can be seen, the population used as a basis is that registered in 1895, and the figure for prisoners is that of 1901, a year in which the country's population was over 3,140,000 inhabitants, according to the official synopsis; thus, what 'results' from comparing data from such different dates is not what the statistics state, nor does anything result at all except fleece, as the cheerful Australians say, which is what happens when you add scissors to unshorn sheep.

All the other calculations of the average in that book are based on that population figure, so they are naturally false from the ground up.

That is one of the reasons for the belief in the rise in our crime rate: they see that the total number of convicts is gradually increasing year on year, and they claim that it is crime that is on the rise, since they do not take into account the increase in population. They confuse the fact, the crime, with the crime rate, which is a numerical ratio.

The same criterion underlies the other conclusions of what we call statistics. Repeating what is said in all the books, from the newly invented five-year period, after noting that farm labourers have accounted for more than six times the number of convicts reported by domestic servants and by salaried employees of all categories, this alarming section states on page 10:

'Farm labourers therefore rank first in terms of the frequency of offences. They are followed by day labourers, farmers, and tradesmen...'

Nowhere does it state, nor does it seem to consider it necessary, what the ratio is between employees and farm labourers in Chile. It notes that the latter account for a greater number of offenders than the former, and without further ado, it places farm labourers 'at the top of the list' for criminality. The number of farm labourers in Chile, as everywhere else, is fifteen to twenty times greater than that of white-collar workers, so that the result is precisely the opposite of what

that official book would have us believe. The same can be said of domestic servants and the other professions he mentions.

On page 19, it repeats the same observation, in case the reader had missed the one on page 10: 'Farm labourers, farmers and day labourers account for the highest proportion on the scale of criminality'. Here it is clearest that this book confuses 'portion' with 'proportion', and 'crime' with 'criminality'.

He calls farm labourers 'farmers', a group whose numbers are extremely high in the country, although this matter of the number of individuals in each profession to establish criminality by profession does not concern him, as we have seen in Statistics.

The official statistician may take comfort, for I shall inform him that these delinquent farmhands and farmers must be on the verge of extinction. Look here: in 1896, 9,092 of those criminals died, whilst employees of all categories and classes numbered only 876. As the proportion has been more or less the same in other years, the country will soon be rid of criminals without the need to drive them out with the army, and we shall be left with only the virtuous public servants.

On page 18 there is a table listing convicts according to their marital status, and upon seeing that the unmarried account for a greater number of criminals than the married, he begins to philosophise on the subject and concludes by saying that the married state seems 'a guarantee of human morality'. In this, he echoes what the statistics from France constantly repeat, where thinkers never miss an opportunity to encourage their compatriots towards marriage and parenthood, to prevent the decline in their country's population; but the French, when demonstrating with figures the lower crime rate among the married, do so by comparing the number of married people with that of single people of an age to commit crimes. Our statisticians have greatly simplified the procedure, contenting themselves, out of sympathy, with the raw figures for offenders. With this system, it is shown that the greatest 'guarantee of human morality' is not precisely the married state, but that of the widowed, as can be seen in all criminal statistics. Our criminologist does not note this observation, perhaps because it is not borne out by the French statistics.

Moreover, this official document from 1902 continues the campaign of defamation undertaken in this field by the 1900 Statistics. It does not analyse periods, so it does not specify how many years it assigns to a five-year span, but it follows the same system of counting those with injuries of any severity as murderers. On page 16, it presents a table showing that the total number of homicide offenders of all kinds in 1901 was 1,002 (the exact figure is 1,001), and adds:

'To this we must add 3,257 cases of bodily injury, of which the following proportion was accounted for by the two sexes:

Men: 3,078;

Women: 179".

A few lines further down, it already counts the number of defendants as homicides, stating:

“The month with the highest number of homicides in 1901 is January, with 101 cases; and the month with the lowest is March, with 67.”

According to the data provided by the same book on page 21, the total number of people killed by homicides of all kinds throughout Chile in that year was 205, which gives a rate of 6.05 per 100,000, taking into account the population of that year.

The number of homicide defendants often reflects only the diligence of the judges in their investigations; frequently, to clarify a case of infanticide, several people from the household where the crime was committed are provisionally imprisoned as defendants, and in the records of that prison they remain listed as defendants for infanticide. That is why, alongside the table of murder suspects, they include statistics showing the number of those convicted of the crime and the number of victims it has produced. Only our statistics have taken it upon themselves to count the number of murder suspects of all kinds as the number of murders committed in the country.

It is these calculations and these reflections in our official documents that lead the English and the French to say that in Chile there are no statistics on anything, despite the thick volumes bearing that name that we have printed every year.

Such books are a typical product of the superficial, outward-looking Latin spirit that currently prevails among the men who govern us: they are meticulously and even lavishly printed, containing eloquent speeches and quotations from philosophers of all ages, from classical antiquity to modern criminologists; but they are completely lacking in what no amount of erudition, however extensive, can provide: they lack common sense. Their author or authors belong to the ranks of those dangerous intellectuals of whom I spoke in my previous letter.

That glaring lack of judgement would not have kept me awake at night, but on every single page another failing shines through—the most serious failing a nation’s leaders can have: they are completely devoid of love for their people. ‘The rich are now hard-hearted towards us,’ a poor potter told me the other day, commenting on the appeal made to a foreign government by several thousand hard-working Chileans, who would rather leave their homeland than be driven from their homes by the bayonets of those of their brothers whom the nation arms precisely to protect the other citizens.

9. 'Equality before the law'. Civil crimes and barbaric crimes. The meaning of the latter.

On the gates of our prisons one could at least place the first part of the sign said to have been on a madhouse: 'Not all who are there are there', because our motto 'Equality before the law', which so aptly expresses the Chilean legal sentiment, does not hold true in practice either.

I had some notes, which have gone astray, on the number of cashiers and treasurers who, over the last five years, have absconded with the people's money entrusted to their honourable care. I do not recall the exact number, but I can assure you it was more than sixty. In order to find some data on the matter, I began leafing through the latest Sinopsis, published last year. On pages 298–299 there is a large table covering both sections, in which the inmates of the Republic's prisons and penitentiaries are classified by their respective professions or trades, and within it a line that reads 'Offences committed by public servants in the course of their duties'. I scanned the column for the prisons, hoping to find my men in good company there. Do you know how many convicts there are in prison, sir? Four! Just four in total. I moved on to the columns for the penitentiaries with a faint hope... nothing, not a single one!

Where, then, are my cashiers, the sellers of bronze rests and unused springs as scrap metal, the thieves of thousands of tonnes of coal from the railways, the dealers in postage and tax stamps, and so many others, young and old, reported on in the daily press? But not even the contractors and inspectors of the state railway works are there, who, having stolen a few thousand pesos, knowingly leave a bridge costing millions poorly founded, so that it collapses under a passenger train, filling innocent families with grief and sorrow. They must be at home; who knows if these individuals are even still in their jobs: because, truth be told, I don't recall any of them having been shot. As I said: not all those who should be there are.

These books are exchanged for statistics from every country that has them, and in them you will see confirmed by the figures—which do not lie—just how right the government of this country was to officially assert that the Chilean race had inherited, precisely, all the vices of the races from which it descends.

These statistics are irrefutable proof that in Chile there are two races, as official documents assert whenever the occasion arises; a ruling race, which has contributed only four members to the penal colonies, and a ruled race, the *rotos*, who fill the prisons. The rulers are therefore quite right in their task of suppressing this stupid, inept and criminal caste by arming one part of it to shoot or drive the other part from their lands, and in paying, with the very taxes of this despicable people, for the passage of labourers from any other country to come and replace us.

And moving on to another matter, I shall take the liberty of recounting an anecdote I was told in Santiago: At midday on one of the capital's main streets, passers-by saw a 'decently dressed' young man running like the wind, looking as though he were in hot pursuit and shouting at the top of his voice: 'Thief! Thief! Stop him!'; whilst pointing his index finger ahead. Bystanders assumed he was some gentleman from whom some ragged scoundrel had snatched his watch or wallet. Then a policeman came trotting up, fumbling with his sabre, and asked in passing:

'Why didn't you stop him, gentlemen?'

'But we haven't seen him.'

'It was the bloke who was shouting.'

I confess that this anecdote is an old one, from the time when foot patrols carried cavalry sabres. I have recounted it merely to change the subject.

While it is true that in absolute numbers—though not in relation to the population—crime is on the rise in our country, the most striking fact is the replacement of 'barbaric' crimes with 'civil' ones, as Italian criminologists put it. The criminals who have caused the total number of convicts to rise, despite the decline in crime among the illiterate populace, are swindlers, counterfeiters, smugglers, arsonists, forgers, etc.

This phenomenon, noted in the latest statistics, cannot be blamed on the destitute poor, for as that book states (page 16): 'The practical industry of a certain European race is catching on among us'. And with gifted disciples.

It is these 'industries' that are being brought to us by the European races whom our statesmen are currently favouring as immigrants. The 'practical industry' of arson, for example, belongs, in more than fifty per cent of cases, to a single Latin colony in the country.

He adds further on:

'This transformation of savage crime into self-serving crime; this substitution of the satisfaction of violent passions for the selfish appetite for pleasure, is taking place gradually and step by step. One might say that the advance of immorality is the dominant feature of the period in question; everywhere, the spectre of easy speculation is the lever that moves the arm and subjugates the brain'.

This is an observation made by many criminologists, and one which the author takes from E. Ferri.

Yes, immorality is the dominant and persistent feature of the times we live in, and it is this that has caused the number of crimes to rise, despite the evident decline in petty crime. In Chile, there is no real 'transformation of violent crime into crime of self-interest'; rather, the former, which is more common among the people, has decreased, whilst the latter, which is not typical of the people, has increased.

Barbaric crimes have not increased, despite the immigrants the Paris agency is sending us.

Homicides among us indicate, in 50 per cent of cases, an innate wickedness of heart. They are quarrels over rivalries, often genuine challenges, which do not end in a friendly brawl, because in their disputes, nor in anything in their lives, do Chileans tolerate farces. Hence the horror these homicides cause to the people of Santiago, who there call them murders.

There are numerous cases in which fights to the death between two ruffians have no other purpose than to firmly establish who is the more manly: racial reminiscences, atavisms awakened by the fumes of alcohol, which lead 80 per cent of Chileans, rich or poor, to show off when we've had more than 60 drinks. Of those sentenced to prison in 1901, 43.6% committed their offences whilst intoxicated.

It is from this sort of crime that man can most easily be cured. When such bloody crimes are committed, as among us, in open, man-to-man combat, not through poison or other cowardly means, they are merely a manifestation of the energy of character; it may be as barbaric as one likes, but that is its meaning.

It is precisely the race that today leads civilisation that distinguished itself through such crimes. The descendants of those men of whom Tacitus said that 'regarded it as laziness and cowardice to obtain through sweat what could be obtained through blood', form to this day the nations in which such crimes are least frequent. The most genuine descendants of those barbarians, of whom the same author says 'drinking for days and nights on end is no shame to anyone. Drunkenness causes frequent quarrels among them, which are rarely confined to insults, for they almost always end in injury and death', though they do not seem inclined to give up their fondness for whisky so readily, leave the punishment of the most serious personal offences to the incorruptible and severe justice of their homeland.

But there is no need to go back to the time of the author of *The Customs of the Germans* to find the same spirit of fighting and violence among the peoples of that race.

I shall take the liberty of quoting a lengthy passage on this subject, for it is highly instructive regarding that spirit of aggressiveness and the infallible method of controlling it when it turns to evil. The author is Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of England in the time of Henry VI, in the middle of the century in which America was discovered, fifteen centuries after Tacitus. He writes as follows:

‘What prevents the French from rising up is cowardice, a lack of heart and courage, not poverty. No Frenchman possesses such courage as an Englishman. In England, it has often been seen that three or four bandits, driven by poverty, have rushed upon seven or eight honourable men and robbed them all, whereas in France one has never seen seven or eight bandits resolute enough to rob three or four honourable men. That is why it is exceedingly rare in that country for anyone to be hanged for armed robbery, because the French lack the nerve to commit such a terrible act. Thus, in England more men are hanged in a single year than in France in seven, for armed robbery and for murder... If a poor Englishman sees another with riches that he can take by force, he will not fail to do so, unless he is completely honest.’

I take this quotation from one of the greatest modern French thinkers, H. Taine (English Literature, ‘The Origins’, page 163), who, far from being appalled by that state of barbarism in the nation rivaling his own homeland, sees in that very violent and daring spirit the origin of that people’s greatness. Combining those iron wills with a wise political organisation, and directing their common drive towards the aggrandisement of their homeland, the Anglo-Saxon race has come to take possession of half the world, whilst at the same time setting the most eloquent example of the degree of morality that a people can attain when they apply that same energetic spirit to the suppression of criminals.

According to Moreau de Jones, until 1843 there were four times as many violent crimes in England as in France. It was only in the middle of the century just past that the death penalty by hanging for the theft of a sheep was abolished in England. Today, only murderers are hanged in that country; but the law is enforced, whatever the criminal’s status, so that no one complains, and the radical selection achieved by this punishment extends to all social spheres.

How far removed from the English statesman who is not daunted by the number of bandits in his land, and from the French philosopher who comments on it, are the sensationalist columnists of Santiago!

Our crime statistics could have saved some of the space wasted on childish or absurd discourse and devoted it to investigating the motives behind the criminal actions of the Chilean people. In such research we would have seen that the 43.6 per cent of prisoners who committed offences whilst intoxicated belong entirely to the category of those who act on a dare, and from the remaining fifty-odd per cent, a significant portion would likewise have to be deducted for those who act on a dare and challenge others whilst in their right mind. We could thus ascertain the true proportion of born criminals, bloodthirsty individuals, poisoners and cowards among us.

I have no data on crime rates in South American states, only those for the city of Buenos Aires for 1901, which can be compared with the data for Chile for that same year.

Homicide suspects: 27.10 per 100,000 inhabitants; completed homicides: 11.78 per 100,000. Suicides: 1.56 per 100,000 inhabitants. Parricides and uxoricides are not included in the figure for completed homicides.

Injuries of all kinds: 319.08 per 100,000. In Chile: 103.50 per 100,000.

In that year, 1901, there were 852 cases of fraud in the city of Buenos Aires, and 489 in the whole of Chile in the same year, including crimes of deception in Chile.

This high number of frauds in that city is explained by what moralists call 'urbanism', which is highly developed there.

In 1900 and 1902, the criminal statistics for Buenos Aires record no offences against public decency. Not a single case of adultery in two years in that Eden, despite its high level of urbanisation.

The Italian criminologist who signs as Sículo, from whom I have taken these figures from the **Revista Popolare** of 15 November 1902, pages 582 and following, seems to believe that such morality is merely superficial and that the statistics for Buenos Aires conceal the truth, and thus exclaims:

'None in 1900 and 1901! Such a rapid improvement in morals and sexual offences leaves those familiar with the customs of a large city, and particularly of Buenos Aires, incredulous.'

I consider the accusation levelled by that Italian criminologist against the Buenos Aires statistics to be unfounded. This type of offence is one which the courts pursue only at the request of the aggrieved party; it is a matter of sensitivity; if no one makes a complaint, the judges cannot prosecute offenders on that charge, and the statistics must leave that column blank.

This view is confirmed by another social phenomenon observed in that metropolis: the steadily declining number of prostitutes recorded in the police register. In 1889 there were 2,007 there, a number that has been rapidly declining to just 317 in 1901, an alarmingly low figure for a city with 850,000 inhabitants, and with the surplus of single adult men that one would expect given its large influx of immigrants. Moralists are aware that there is a direct and constant link between these two social phenomena.

I have deemed it necessary to draw this comparison between some of our crimes and those of the Argentine capital because the Synopsis published last year, on page 68, reports that a quick and inexpensive procedure is being studied to displace Chilean day labourers and craftsmen, without prejudice to other means aimed at that end, which consists of 'ensuring that the surplus of the immigration flow from the Argentine Republic is directed towards our country, for which it would be necessary to establish a propaganda and information office in Buenos Aires and reduce the price of overland tickets to Chile, through state assistance'.

Now that in Buenos Aires they are persecuting and even repatriating to Europe, at the expense of the Argentine public purse, the rabble of idlers and criminals, socialists and anarchists who infest the city, Chilean propaganda and the savings it will bring to the neighbouring country

will find there the widest protection and applause for the wisdom of our government, applause all the more sincere in that by evicting those scoundrels we shall also be driving out our honest farmers, who will have to emigrate to Argentina, thus reaping a double benefit. Just like us.

10. Famous Chilean criminals who are not of Chilean race. The influence of the political awakening of the Chilean people on their behaviour.

You will have noticed that when I speak of Chileans, I am referring to those who are so by race, not by birth, because it is only for my race that I advocate, because it is my race that is slandered, and because I owe myself only to my race.

The natural immigration of foreigners from any country into Chile has left us with individuals of various races, but they all share, to a greater or lesser extent, our moral outlook, and among them there are those who are as Chilean at heart as we are ourselves.
Welcome to them!

Those who do not sympathise with us emigrate sooner or later in search of other peoples, other men of a spirit similar to their own. Bon voyage!

Likewise, when I reflect on the criminality of my race, I do not confuse those two terms; I do not charge to my race's account the crimes committed by those who are Chilean only by birth.

Some of Chile's most notorious criminals, such as Cambiaso, the most cruel murderer of the garrison at the Magallanes penal colony; Demeo, who revelled in stabbing and insulting the corpse of his victim; Pancho Falcato, the murderer who for twenty years was the terror of the country's central provinces; Dottone, the Santiago journalist whom the public watched as he kissed the hilt of the dagger with which he intended to murder Bianchi, another Santiago journalist, who was, in fact, the one who murdered Dottone, both sociologists from the latest wave of European immigrants; Camerati, the poisoner of Linares, who, whilst on trial for the poisoning of his wife, took advantage of his release on bail to poison his son; Camma, Sacco and so many other scoundrels with foreign surnames of recent times are not Chileans, even though they were born on our soil.

The same applies to politics, administration and everything else pertaining to Chile; I pay close attention to the names to know where I stand in this regard, and there are very telling facts that are plain for all to see.

When the crime statistics for 1902 and 1903 are published, we shall see a much more marked decline in crime among the native population, provided that figures for Chileans and foreigners are given separately, and provided that those convicted of

drunkenness—who, under the latest law on the penalties for drunkenness, will number in the thousands.

I am fully convinced of this decline, not because of what the official figures show, but because of my personal observation in the part of this province where I live. I am in constant daily contact with the common folk of Caliche—the craftsmen, the porters, and so on—and that phenomenon of a voluntary and conscious effort to curb their aggression and moderate their passions, which I have been noticing in them for some time now, has become more pronounced and evident during the recent national celebrations. The people of this province have felt a deep and vivid need to celebrate our national holiday with enthusiasm. And so we have celebrated it. Genuine enthusiasm, and sincere and grateful memories from the depths of the soul for the heroes of the nation, have filled our thoughts during those days. But it has been an enthusiasm restrained in its outward displays; there has been less drunkenness, fewer shouts, fewer brawls; those skilled at settling disputes and quarrels have been more alert and more numerous than usual. On the other hand, I have observed elderly men, with serious faces, determined to sing the national anthem and making their presence felt at every event on the programme.

In Santiago there are many, and among them all our rulers, who neither see nor believe—even though those who do believe and see it tell them—that among the people of Chile there is currently taking place, with great energy and urgency, an awakening of their political and social consciousness, which is one of the most interesting psychological phenomena of our age and which history will record carefully because it will, without doubt, be of the utmost importance in the unfolding of future events.

The Chilean people, this Great Orphan, are painfully aware of their isolation, their abandonment, their orphanhood with a stepmother; that is why they band together; that is why they steal a few hours from their work to devote them to organising themselves, to educating themselves in politics, to seeking out loyal and patriotic leaders, to reading, to listening to others read, attentively, solemnly, silently; that is why they concentrate their strength, temper their passions, and conserve their energy; with their marvellous instinct as a people of a single race, they sense that the day will come when great responsibilities will weigh upon their conscience, and they prepare to face them and prove themselves worthy of them.

What is called the psychology of the masses, like any highly complex and extensive phenomenon, must be studied in detail in order to gain an accurate understanding of its general results, of its synthesis. That is my opinion and my method of study. By conversing, conversing with simple labourers, with stewards, with craftsmen, I have come to realise the uniformity of their thinking, and by observing their actions and attitudes, I have been convinced once again that the common man speaks his mind and acts as he speaks.

With what satisfaction I heard, during the recent civic festivities, people reproaching one another for their lack of moderation or their intemperance! The rivalry that arose between the various societies into which the workers here are organised, each striving to behave with the utmost prudence and propriety, was very evident. As fond as I am of such observations, the confirmation of a fact of this nature holds for me a very particular intrinsic beauty, and when I have seen it occur spontaneously among the common folk, among my own people, without

them even imagining the great significance it holds, I have felt my soul refreshed.

Chapter X

Some ideas on morality, and ethnic legal and social concepts

1. The Chilean legal concept of criminal law; the scientific concept. 2. Exaggerated benevolence and its consequences. 3. Exaggerated benevolence, its biological cause. The biological concept of 'Latin race'. Gumplowicz's Law of Civilisation. 4. A biological cause of the decline of societies. 5. The masculine and feminine perspectives on justice. The biological basis for the need for domestic virtues, particularly in women. Social significance. 6. Moral crisis in Latin countries. Its biological cause. 7. The immorality of a section of our aristocracy is a recent phenomenon. Date of the emergence of certain signs of moral decline. Experimental science justifies domestic virtues. 8. Regressive selection due to the lack of criminal sanctions. Whom and how wealth corrupts. 9. The discredit of our ruling class abroad. 10. Measures to combat crime. Let us establish schools!

1. The Chilean legal concept of criminal law, the scientific concept.

But apart from the reckless, drunk or not, we unfortunately have among us and within our own race an excessive proportion of true criminals, if we compare it with that of the Germanic countries of Europe, and the duty of our statesmen is to aspire, in this as in everything, to the Chilean people being on a par with the best.

There are very few peoples in the world who are in such good innate moral condition as we are to form with it a super-organic or social being of the strongest organisation, as Spencer understands and describes it, that is, an organic aggregate in which, in addition to general biological laws, specific social laws are fulfilled; an organism in which the constituent elements have an independent life of their own, which is why the scholar has called them 'discrete', as opposed to the singular beings he calls 'concrete'. The vital force of one of these superior beings depends on two sources of energy: one biological, the vitality of each of the individuals constituting it, and the other psychological, the harmonious and voluntary participation in social cooperation. The physical and

spirit of the Chilean man is generally recognised by all, but not so his great super-organic disposition.

No law is too harsh for us provided we understand that it has been inspired by the common good and that it is applied equally, encompassing all Chileans without hurtful exceptions, and that it does not purport to be the expression of the will of a superior caste imposed upon slaves. Our race cannot be governed in this manner; to persist in this dual and erroneous approach to the application of laws will have as its only logical consequence the disruption of our social development, and the delay or perversion of our people's historical evolution.

There are those who believe that the roto is too proud to be a socially manageable individual. They do not know what they are saying. The spontaneous and extremely rapid adaptation to strict military discipline is the best practical refutation of that belief. If the roto, with his head held high, looks into the eyes of his interlocutor, it is not that he is provoking anyone, but that he opens his own eyes to reveal the depths of his transparent soul, without a shadow of suspicion in his serene spirit that there are entire castes of men who feel humiliated and take offence at their own inability to do the same. If he does not smile when speaking, it is because his parents were never forced to beg for favour from indifferent masters. If the roto does not bow with courtly grace when greeting, it is because he inherited an upright spine from two races that were never slaves.

Others, on the contrary, claim that the roto is humble. We do not possess that evangelical virtue to any notable degree. The fact is that such people confuse timidity and humility with obedience, subordination, and a super-organic faculty. Darwin, on his famous voyage with Fitzroy aboard the Beagle, noted this fact. The illustrious biologist recounts that the Chilean peasants who served him a snack waited standing at a respectful distance whilst he ate, a fact that surprised him greatly, for in other regions, those who had provided him with food would sit familiarly by his side, helping him to eat. The scholar did not take such an attitude as a sign of humility, but rather of social subordination. It is not out of humility but out of respect that the tenant takes off his hat to address his landlord. It is not humility but the instinct of subordination that turns a wild vagabond into a veteran soldier in six months. It is that instinctive, inherited subordination that makes this people one of the easiest to govern—but to govern well—and it is their lack of humility that makes them one of the most difficult to govern badly.

I realise I have strayed from the subject I intended to address in this issue. The reason for this digression is that the bundles of newspapers from the south brought to me by the last steamer have made my pen more uncertain than usual.

I have just read in those newspapers a note that the 'Emigration Committee' of Chilean smallholders from the southern provinces has addressed to the Workers' Congress in Santiago, in which they bid farewell to their countrymen and explain the reasons forcing them to abandon their beloved homeland with their families: they do not wish to wait to be driven out by force, nor do they intend to remain as tenants of the new lords of their ancestral lands; they wish to make it clear that they are not leaving the country to shirk their obligations to their homeland; they are not

are not addressing the National Congress or the Executive this time, because they have not had the honour of receiving a reply to previous letters they have respectfully submitted on this matter.

In the same newspapers I read that propaganda in Japan has already begun with flattering success to bring in coolie labourers to whom the lands of these farmers are to be given. It is announced that fifty thousand Japanese are ready and waiting to be paid for their passage to come and do us the favour of taking possession of our lands. Our government, exercising the authority granted to it by a draft agreement on this matter with that eastern nation—a draft treaty with which I am familiar, and which stipulates that the Chilean government shall agree on the date on which Japanese colonisation is to begin—has declared that the time is not yet ripe. That sword of Damocles will continue to hang by a thread over the farmers' heads until a more opportune moment.

Those newspapers also report that the first consignment of Canarians (Guanches of mixed African descent) has already embarked in Tenerife, comprising more than three hundred individuals of both sexes who are coming to replace the dispossessed Chileans.

I also read that the Honduran government has instructed its representative in Santiago to find a way to direct Chilean emigration towards that country.

Five thousand (5,000) Chilean farming families are on the list to emigrate. As the average Chilean family consists of more than six people, the number of people who will be driven directly or indirectly from their homeland on this occasion amounts to more than thirty thousand (30,000). It is, therefore, no small triumph for the propaganda in this regard by certain Chilean newspapers in Santiago and Valparaíso and by the Latin American press in that port. They are fully entitled to share in the satisfaction with which our rulers (?) will have received the news that their so patiently devised plans are beginning to be crowned with success.

I have been unable to share in that joy, I cannot deny it, and that has been the cause of this digression. I had begun this issue by recalling that we do indeed have an excessive proportion of genuine criminals, and I wished to tell you that this misfortune of our race has not been rectified because our rulers have failed to interpret our spirit in this matter. I was reminded at that moment of the popular Chilean saying, which expresses our feelings regarding criminal punishment: 'He who does it pays for it', and by association of ideas I recalled the other: 'A fair law is not harsh', and hence, given the unease caused me by the news from the south, I strayed along that path from the main subject. I return to it.

We Chileans are really not the sort of people to be frightened by the punishments imposed on criminals. That exaggerated fear of death displayed by Latin peoples is perfectly understandable within their idiosyncrasies and explains many chapters of their history. There are some of these countries that base their pride on having abolished the death penalty for criminals, even though they are overrun with them, and they regard as backward and take pleasure in still calling the Germanic nations barbaric because they still apply it, despite having almost purged themselves of scoundrels.

Modern criminals, who have made their science a branch of Darwinian and evolutionary philosophy, invoke neither social retribution, nor the reform of criminals, nor the salutary terror and lesson to others for the rest of mankind as a justification for punishment. Their rationale is biological, selective: the born criminal, that individual whose indelible physical constitution will surely drive him to crime as soon as the opportunity arises, is eliminated from society by any means; the others are prevented in some way from disturbing social tranquillity and security, by isolating them for as long as is deemed necessary, thereby achieving one of the most positive benefits of such isolation: that during that time they do not reproduce, for it is proven that atavistic traits, as belonging to the species' millennia-old genetic pool, have a strong tendency to be passed on to the offspring of the individual in whom they appear.

If fools and scoundrels did not reproduce, the harm they would cause to society would be small, for it would be temporary; it is their indefinite perpetuation that constitutes the most onerous social burden, and that is why the school of scientific criminology focuses primarily on this aspect of the matter, for it is this that will lead man to his definitive, hereditary perfection; the one that will transform this descendant of ancient cannibals into a naturally good being, through whom it will be possible to establish societies that need not bear the material burden of prisons and police, nor the moral burden of the necessary repression of their wicked members, which afflict present-day societies. Punishment, the 'healthy terror', certainly restrains the natural impulse in many cases: it reduces the number of crimes; it can suppress the temptation to commit the first criminal act, which might eventually have become a habit; it therefore renders positive services to society; but its effect is merely immediate, having nothing to do with the future of the criminal. The thief who does not steal for fear of flogging or police surveillance will do so as soon as these obstacles disappear; if, due to the persistence of these obstacles, the exercise of his instincts has prevented him from committing a theft throughout his life, his son will continue to lie in wait for the moment when society lets its guard down, and thus the advent of the superior, perfect social organism will not be possible.

It is therefore the defence of the social being that the new school has in mind; immediate defence through the elimination or imprisonment of the criminal, and future defence through the suppression or limitation of his offspring or the moral selection that those means seek to achieve. The gravity of criminal acts is assessed by the harm caused, just as the criminal's depravity is measured by the greater danger that his existence or freedom may pose to society—that is, by his 'temibilidad', a term coined by Garófalo and definitively accepted by science. The notion of more or less free will with which the old school graded the moral responsibility of criminal actions is today usually cited by authors as an archaeological curiosity.

It is true that this modern criterion in criminology is gaining ground slowly, and to date I believe that only the latest Scandinavian penal code contains provisions inspired by these scientific reference points; but I have deemed it pertinent to recall them here, because thinkers from all countries, starting with those in Italy, are tireless in their task of gathering new evidence and organising their arguments to consolidate this branch of knowledge and disseminate it through every means at their disposal, to such an extent that it is now

a subject of serious consideration by legislators in all countries, especially in German-speaking nations.

In Chile, the great Portales possessed the clear vision of a statesman of genius in this field, as in others, anticipating in practice the conclusions of modern science. One of the characteristics of those exceptional geniuses known as statesmen is that they possess an instinct for social organisation. Progressive races produce those conscious elements of selection that cooperate so effectively with the slow, unconscious selection process. Among the distinguishing features of such men is a very high concept of justice and, as a consequence, love and protection for the good, the orderly and the sociable, and their tremendous severity towards those who disrupt peaceful social cooperation or political peace.

This aspect of their organising activity arouses enmities and hatreds that often cloud the judgement with which their contemporaries assess them; yet, once the days of passion have passed, history records these men in its pages of honour and their fellow citizens erect statues in their honour.

Following Portales's death, the reaction began and has reached, in the prosperous times we now enjoy, an extreme that is a true scientific curiosity, and for this reason I wish to record it.

The Cerrillos de Teno and the Prado slope were, for a time, cleared for the compulsory passage of travellers from the capital to the south and to the port during the government of Portales, who confined the highwaymen of those parts to the famous carts and employed them in works of public utility. Following the cowardly assassination of that great man, carried out by a scoundrel with no Chilean surname, the carts with iron bars were abolished, and the convicts left the prisons as freely as the residents of their homes, returning to their former strategic strongholds. Somewhat subdued during Montt's government, they became almost as disastrous as before after his time, until, as the roads multiplied, they had to disperse into small bands that roamed the country practising the profession of those countrymen of theirs of whom Fortescue speaks.

But that is as far as the similarity between the situations in England and our country goes. We have already seen that the English statesman boasted that more criminals were hanged in his country in a single year than in seven years in France.

By this method, hanging people even for the theft of a lamb, they have put an end to the class of criminals in England.

In Chile, after Montt, came the era of 'womanly tears' in favour of criminals, as Lombroso calls the strange generosity and compassion that criminals arouse in some men.

There was talk that the prisons were uncomfortable, that the prisoners might be corrupted by living many to a cell, that their food was not sufficiently nutritious, that their clothing offered little warmth, and a campaign began in the press in favour of the poor imprisoned souls. Fundraising balls, theatrical performances, etc., were held

raise funds to help them, until these scoundrels found themselves showered with gifts and treats of all kinds.

The superintendent of Santiago Penitentiary, a senator of the Republic and a gentleman of the right-wing, set aside a room in the establishment where married prisoners could converse in private with their wives, a room which the prisoners called 'confessionals'. The Darwinian school of thought was not yet in vogue.

Regarding the same phenomenon in Italy, where it is chronic, Ferri states in his book *Studies in Criminal Anthropology*, page 33:

'In their humanitarian concern for the benefit of the condemned, they have disregarded a series of facts as inseparable from the criminal act as the top and bottom of a surface (...) they have failed to notice that behind the offender lie his victims, his families and the honourable people directly wronged by the crime. They have forgotten that the very man who in prison appears submissive and almost always hypocritical before the prison officer or the governor has committed murders, homicides, robberies, etc. in his life. We forget all this, particularly the Latin peoples, who, driven by emotion, whilst we see the common murderer caught in the act, feel inclined to put him to death, and after some time grant him all our thoughtless compassion, care for him excessively in prison, as if he were an unfortunate innocent, and do not think for a moment that in some backwater, perhaps reduced to the utmost misery, the children, wife or mother of the dead man are weeping and suffering'.

The sentimentality of the race, as this author calls it, means in this case that these minds function solely on the basis of the immediate, present impression supplied by the senses, without any stored ideas drawn from previous impressions. This author is Latin American, and in such a severe judgement of his own race there seems to be some exaggeration.

Then that universal tearjerker must be Latin American, for after lying dormant for a few years, it has reappeared once more in Santiago in support of criminals and their kind.

The same complaints about the wretched fate of convicts are back in vogue today, and the same methods of aiding them that were seen thirty years ago are being revived; but today the evil is intensifying.

At the same time as farmers are being expelled from the country and artisans displaced by the contracted immigration I have mentioned, several shelters have been established in the capital to raise, with every comfort and the strictest hygiene, the children abandoned by their own parents, that is to say, the offspring of men devoid of the most rudimentary of animal instincts of benevolence—that of fatherhood—and who will have passed on to these children their instincts of brutal selfishness.

Educating these children, rescuing them from neglect and misery, teaching them to read, write and count, training them in some useful trade with which they may later earn an honest living for themselves and their families, and other such common platitudes from Santiago's chroniclers, are nothing more than pretexts with which they deceive only themselves.

It is not the children of the honest farmhand or the hard-working and honourable craftsman, who have been left destitute by some misfortune, who stir people's sentimentality there. Those must be sought out in the wretched huts of the suburbs or in the most humble slums where, huddled around a emaciated mother who lacks the heart to hand her children over to the Child Welfare Board, they prefer to suffer their anguish in silence; it is the fruits of vice, cowardice, and moral and physical misery that will consume the money of the hard-working and virtuous people.

If they were concerned for the future of the people's children, as they proclaim, they would have heeded the cry of the three thousand craftsmen without work, without bread or shelter for their children, who, in a memorandum in which they proved with irrefutable documents the superior quality of the work of the national craftsman, respectfully requested the Supreme Government that the materials for the State railways be manufactured in the country. Instead of heeding them, the press and official statements called for the recruitment of craftsmen in Europe to be stepped up, and every steamship arriving from that continent disembarks in Talcahuano and Valparaíso, in full view of the unemployed Chilean craftsmen, the foreigners who have come to replace those who can still provide bread for their families.

The public alms distributed with great pomp, as well as the banquets for the poor being introduced by the ladies of Santiago whilst their husbands, to earn a tip, import from abroad what, had it been built in the country, would have rendered the humiliating alms unnecessary, is a procedure that is doubly demoralising and which earned the master Lastarria, referring to what happened in France, the severest censure. It is the organisation of charity 'to replace duty with idleness, and truth with bread', a practice which the wise Lastarria describes as 'deceitful and hypocritical', adding:

'From there comes the fashion, and the reactionaries of America are hastening to follow in the footsteps of those in France, to bring about chaos around moral progress in our nascent societies as well, and to squander the gains of truth for their own benefit.'

If they wished to educate the children of the people in the manual arts, as they would have us believe, they would admit to the sole School of Arts they have founded across the length of Chile—which spans some 800 leagues—the poor children who arrive there asking to be taught how to use a tool. The School of Arts has a capacity for 300 pupils; at the start of the 1902 academic year, there were only 156 pupils at that establishment; 213 children from the villages applied for enrolment, of whom only 121 were accepted, the rest being rejected because they possessed scant literary knowledge, according to the

Official Synopsis of 1902, page 235. The absurdity of the reason given by the government for not filling the places at the country's only school of arts—which is staffed by forty-five employees, not counting cooks, porters, etc., or the supervisory board—makes it unacceptable.

If they were concerned about the common people's children, the numerous projects for building workers' houses would not lie dormant; the children of the tenants would not continue to be sheltered in shacks, whose wretchedness is enough to break the heart; and the five thousand heads of families who will be expelled from their homeland would have raised a storm of indignation, clamour and protest in those souls of Santiago who display their tenderness and generosity to us whilst lulling the little ones of their own disorder to sleep. We shall then see what is the true cause of that short-sighted philanthropy and of the eleventh-hour intervention of those people.

2. Exaggerated charity and its consequences.

The regressive, unnatural and therefore disastrous selection resulting from the protection of the descendants of morally degenerate individuals of every kind, funded by the money of the virtuous and socially minded, has already produced, in some countries that have gone ahead of ours in this senseless endeavour, extremely serious evils, which have been studied in detail and as a whole by European scholars.

This philosophical point is closely related to crime rates in countries, so I shall take the liberty of devoting a few more lines to it.

Darwin himself, discussing the inevitable consequences of an exaggerated spirit of charity, said:

'The weak members of civilised societies may thus reproduce indefinitely. However, anyone who has been concerned with the breeding of domestic animals knows, without a doubt, how detrimental to the human race such perpetuation of weak individuals must be.'

Spencer has written at length on the same subject. The following quotation is his:

'To support the incapable at the expense of the capable is a great cruelty. It is a store of misery deliberately accumulated for future generations. No sadder gift can be bestowed upon posterity than to fill it with an ever-growing number of imbeciles, idlers and criminals. Helping scoundrels to multiply amounts, in essence, to maliciously preparing a multitude of enemies for our descendants. One is

reason to ask whether foolish philanthropy, which thinks only of alleviating the evils of the moment and persists in ignoring the indirect evils, does not ultimately produce a greater accumulation of misery than that which complete selfishness would produce.

The following quotation is from the contemporary scholar G.V. de Lapouge:

‘From a social point of view, it is not enough for the criminal to be punished. That matters very little. The old ideas about the punishment and reform of criminals are laughable. As far as the present is concerned, what is required is to prevent them from causing harm, and as for the future, to prevent their reproduction. Every descendant of a wrongdoer, even if he is the most honourable man in the world, carries within him the seed of criminality. A stroke of atavism, an incongruous cross-breeding, can cause it to erupt in any generation. Disfavour and discord are justified towards the descendants at the time of the offence, and also towards their entire family. For future generations, it is essential that, if the death penalty cannot be applied, the criminal be prevented from defiling, through his offspring, the social body of which he is a part.

To understand all the harm that this artificial rearing of the children of scoundrels and villains ultimately causes to a society, one must not forget that the money spent on them does not come from a land of milk and honey, but belongs to society as a whole, and that often, for lack of a single penny, an honourable but poor family cannot afford to buy enough food for the day. Furthermore, there is a natural tendency to favour, in employment, those who have been raised in such ‘greenhouses’ by the rich who act as their patrons and sponsors, thereby displacing the children of the poor from honourable family backgrounds. On the other hand, poor children who are left destitute by the death of their parents or by some other fortuitous circumstance are found in a consistent proportion everywhere, whilst those abandoned by their parents increase rapidly under artificial protection. The more such institutions are established in a city for this purpose, the greater is the number of foundlings who fill the foundling wheels or are abandoned at the doors of churches or elsewhere. Nothing thrives more easily than evil when it is encouraged; only nature’s inescapable and severe punishment is capable of curbing it.

Spencer laments what is happening in England, where, rather than the poor tax, it is wealthy spinsters who contribute their money and their personal efforts to the thoughtless promotion of philanthropy towards abandoned children and vicious, idle adults. Eighty per cent of London’s hooligans have emerged from these breeding grounds of scoundrels.

The campaign being carried out in Santiago in this regard is truly alarming. If its harmful influence has not yet been felt here, it is because it is brand new, like all the strange, evil and unfortunate things afflicting the country today; but if this continues, its natural consequences will be inevitable: on the one hand, the activity aimed at antagonising the healthy, hard-working element, and on the other, the influx of foreign criminals and the protection afforded to home-grown criminals will bring about the day when Chile becomes, in reality, a new Calabria or something worse.

The people of Santiago have not been satisfied with the numerous traditional resources of dances, bazaars, theatrical festivals, private and public subsidies, special laws passed by Congress, etc. They have even resorted to forbidden means; they have exerted influence to have certain bets—honestly termed ‘mutual’—permitted, despite these having been declared immoral by the judges of Santiago, on condition that they receive a percentage of the bribes from this illicit gambling. Last year, this contribution to the vice of gambling—which is, in effect, its authorisation—was distributed amongst eight Santiago institutions dedicated to that purpose.

But what is the last straw is that on 1 June this year, an establishment placed under the protection of Saint Stanislaus of Koska to ‘take in and educate the children of convicts’ was inaugurated with great pomp in the capital, under the patronage of the leading political authorities.

Among the numerous patrons of that institution was the man who has contributed most to the continued sending of criminal immigrants from Europe, instead of bringing in selected individuals or bringing in none at all, as is natural, and waiting for them to come of their own accord.

One of the curious points in the Criminal Statistics he recalls is the admiration he feels for the number of repeat offenders among Chile’s criminals; and as with everything, he launches into a philosophical discourse in his own style; yet he says not a word about the specific work of a high-ranking Chilean government body, whose most frequent task is to undermine the legal punishment of crimes.

In 1901, 53 individuals were released from prisons for having served their sentences, and 100 by pardon from the Council of State. If we add to these the six who were banished to different provinces—which amounts to the same as pardoning them—we have exactly double the number of pardoned criminals.

Judging by what the press reports regarding the numerous pardons granted at each meeting of that high body, that two-to-one ratio for that year does not seem excessive. The reason is that the previous year had been quite busy in this regard, and little work remained for this one, as can be seen from these figures: released from prisons in 1900 for having served their sentences, 32 prisoners; for having been banished to the provinces, 4; released by pardon, 128. Less than a quarter of the released prisoners therefore served the sentence imposed by the judges. But it comes at a price: a report published in the Santiago newspapers at the beginning of this month states that inmates who, for whatever reason, have left the prison until their next

offence, are released onto the streets without a penny of the savings they have earned through their work in the prison workshops, because they have spent it all on securing their pardon.

It seems that this year, 1903, will also leave very little for the next to do in this branch of the administration, because the task of the Council of State has been joined by that of the commission appointed to investigate certain irregularities that had been committed at the Santiago Penitentiary. That commission, in order to bring the prison's operations into line, has reported that 58 of those housed there should be released together. I do not know what criteria guided this mass commutation, but I am certain that it was not the short time remaining for these prisoners to serve their sentences, for the only person pardoned whom I recognise from the published list, a gentleman named Celedón, was sentenced to death for having shot and killed his stepmother some eight years ago; the Council of State commuted that sentence to twenty years' imprisonment, so he had twelve years left to serve. It is not so important to know whether this pardoned man was released with savings or not, as it is to bear in mind that when he committed his crime he would have been at most twenty-eight years old, so that to date he is fully capable of returning to the institution to save up for a new pardon.

As criminology is merely a branch of anthropology, it is one of my interests, and for that reason I have acquired many books on the subject, so I am in a position to assure you that the series of events I have listed on the preceding pages are a true curiosity in the science of crime. In this way we shall continue to acquire an enviable reputation in Europe, which is already well advanced with the publication of the *Annals and Criminal Statistics*.

The most knowledgeable criminologists agree that the money spent on prisons (excluding confessionals and the asylums of San Koska) is the only expenditure currently made directly by governments in the selection of the people they govern, and on that account they regard it as one of the investments yielding the greatest social benefit. The reason put forward by the commission calling for mass pardons for prisoners—namely, that there are not enough cells to house them in isolation—is, if not self-serving, certainly not scientific. It may well stem from the decline in the standard of justice that currently governs our nation's destiny.

When it comes to the punishment of crime, the Chilean people do not find any penalty too severe; they have never complained about the rigour of the laws. What we reject with all our might, because it is in direct conflict with the very core of our being, is the attempt to enact general laws whose penalties are borne solely by us; the attempt to apply the country's laws with different criteria depending on the castes into which the population is said to be divided; and the fact that the narrowest part of the funnel is left for us, in our capacity as inferiors, as slaves. It is time to dispel, once and for all, the delusion that this people can ever be governed in this way. The country, the territory, may tolerate such inequality of rights when our rulers have succeeded in replacing us all with inferior races. But we must abandon that illusion, for that has never happened in history since the world began.

I repeat that the death penalty for serious crimes has never frightened us; 'you reap what you sow' and 'we were born to die' and 'he who dies is buried'. There are many cases in which a man condemned to death has asked to be shot. Knowing that the wretch will be unable to control his bloodthirsty instincts in the face of the terrible ordeal of death, his social sense of justice achieves that magnificent triumph over his instincts of self-preservation. The Chilean people are ready to respect the laws of Draco or any others, provided they are enacted for the good of the country and the race, and applied without exceptions that amount to an offence; but we are tired of waiting in vain for some criminal from the ruling class to be shot; on the contrary, we watch with genuine indignation as the most horrific crimes committed by some of its members go unpunished, such as the poisoning of a poor woman carried out with cold, tenacious calculation that reveals the heart of a beast and the most vile cowardice—the sort of crimes that a common man in Chile would never commit, for it is repugnant to their very nature, and is characteristic only of women in countries with a masculine mindset; it is an unmistakable stigma of a country's matriarchal psychology that men should resort to such a cowardly means of murder. All discourse is futile in the face of the facts, for to imagine that we are satisfied with mere words is to compound the offence.

Two generations have passed in which the impunity of the criminals at the very top of our society must surely have exerted its disastrous influence on their moral judgement.

The Santiago campaign in favour of criminals also has the serious drawback of distorting the judgement of the people, who are as correct in this as in everything else, and in that sense it is deeply divisive and immoral.

The long-term consequences of actions are perceived with clarity only by superior minds; the ignorant people of Chile, lagging behind in their mental development, instinctively adapt to the rigour of the laws enacted by their enlightened and intelligent compatriots; but if they see that these very men are determined to soften that rigour, their feelings of benevolence towards their brothers will take precedence over those of equity, and anything that tends to weaken the stern sense of dry justice that adorns our race is a crime, a sacrilege.

Surely, among the hardships endured by those who lead their fellow men, none is greater than having to ensure, without hesitation, that the law is enforced. 'Your heart is not hard enough to rule the superman,' said Zarathustra. The laws of Nature are harsh. 'Dura lex, sed lex,' said the Romans. Organic selection marches over the corpses of the vanquished. If the human species has come to be the queen of Creation, it is because within it the struggle for survival has taken on particularly harsh characteristics; only in our species have individuals systematically preyed upon their fellow men: 'homo homini lupus'. The superior races of humanity are the prize won at the cost of countless millions of their own kind. If man wishes to assist the action of Providence, of nature, in its most wondrous work—the perfection of its favourite creature—he must seek to imitate it. Struggle and the reward of the victor are the very essence of the progress of all organised beings. The laws of nature are harsh; yet they possess the inestimable merit

that they are observed without exception; that they cannot be flouted without penalty; and that they have been, are, and will remain an infallible guide to perfection. The future belongs to those races that show the greatest adaptability to social laws that are in harmony with those of God.

3.- Exaggerated charity, its biological cause. The biological concept of the 'Latin race'. Gumpłowicz's law of civilisation.

It is a psychological phenomenon of great interest, both for its significance and for the consistency with which it occurs: the sympathy aroused by criminals in societies in moral decline. It was not absent in Greece or Rome during their periods of decline, and is today so marked in southern Europe that Ferri regards it as one of the characteristics of the Latin race. Is it the cry of the conscience, as some believe? Is it sympathy for the man whose moral weakness they themselves feel within their own being, as others think?

I am inclined to believe not, sir. There is a general trait in all these manifestations of compassion, of tenderness towards the unfortunate man—or the man we believe to be such—which encompasses all the forms of this psychological phenomenon. That trait is the hallmark of the feminine soul: the protection of the child, the weak, the helpless. It is women in every country who are the most enthusiastic and self-sacrificing servants of this cause, which extends swiftly and fervently to helpless children, orphans and the destitute. It is the reign of charity and the triumph of its queen, woman.

Natural selection has necessarily developed in the female of all animals that powerful instinct which compels her to devote all her efforts, her tenderness and her very life to the being who, in the first moments of its existence, owes everything to the efforts of another. It is the very existence of the species that is bound up with this maternal instinct, an instinct that is all the more developed and vigorous the greater the helplessness with which the offspring of the respective species comes into the world, and the human child is one of the most helpless in its earliest infancy. Hence, in women, this instinct is so powerful. Reason has no part in this; it is not a cerebral act of the kind they call voluntary, but merely the product of organs, of viscera specific to her female organism. The phrase 'tender love', which for a man is merely a figure of speech, expresses a physiological reality for her. A five-year-old girl needs no reflection of any kind to lovingly cradle a bottle wrapped in a handkerchief in her arms.

Feelings of benevolence, which in men arise only from the representation in our minds of another's feelings, according to Spencer, have, moreover, very deep roots in women; consequently, the exaggeration of such feelings in any society is unequivocal proof of feminine influence in social affairs. This more or less conspicuous influence of women's control in all societies in moral decline has been noted by philosophers of all ages, and is always accompanied by what has been termed the effeminisation of men's characters.

The constant concomitance between this general feminisation and the depravity of family customs—and consequently social customs—led the ancient philosophers to suspect the existence of some causal relationship between the two phenomena. For modern sociologists, the doubts have ceased; the relationship exists and is immediate. It is the work of the female soul.

In a letter on crime, such as this one, I do not believe it is entirely out of place to delve a little deeper into this question of domestic morality and its relationship with female psychology. This investigation will reveal the basis of certain traits of Chilean psychology related to it, and will enable me to explain what the expression ‘Latin race’ means from a psychological perspective—a matter of current interest at a time when the country is threatened by the invasion of the customs and people of that race. I also believe it necessary to shed light on this subject in the light of modern knowledge, because it is of transcendental ethical importance, and is very confused and even entirely unknown in Chile. I shall devote a few pages to it, with the necessary reservations for a press article on this delicate matter, trusting that the sound judgement and sound instincts of Chileans in this regard will help readers who lack specialised knowledge of the subject to understand this brief exposition of a topic that would require many pages to be properly elucidated.

To recall just two of the best-known and most extreme examples, we have the somewhat diluted Latin psychology of today, which I have outlined in some previous passages and which we shall continue to examine later. In the early days of the written history of these peoples, matriarchal traits were very pronounced. The Iberian women are described by Strabo as very manly and fighting in their armies alongside the men. Cubada, a typical matriarchal custom, was practised by the Iberians. The transmission of inheritance through the female line and of the name to descendants seems to have been the rule, with that right being restricted in later times solely to the descendants of the first-born daughter, as I mentioned. The tenacity with which Iberian women have consistently sought to impose their own names on their children is most curious, and I have traced it as far as Ireland and Scotland among the Picts. It is to this tenacity that we owe the current custom in Spain and other countries that have inherited it of placing the mother’s surname alongside the father’s in names and signatures, as we saw earlier. Sales y Ferré cites in his **Studies in Sociology** many other signs of Iberian matriarchy. The Etruscans, who in protohistoric times may have inhabited the whole of Italy, signed their names or referred to themselves using only the maternal surname or first name. On the tombs of theirs that have been discovered, the name of the deceased appears with the phrase ‘children of so-and-so’. It is known that they were largely communists, and their religious festivals bore the typical mark of matriarchy: a lack of modesty. The Lupercalia festivals were ‘a veritable carnival of shepherds; there one could see the luperici (those who ward off the wolf) running and bleating, naked, with a goatskin wrapped around their waists, and lashing passers-by with whips’. (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Volume I, ‘The Priests’).

Describing the Masquerades, the same author (chapter 15) says that they often reached ‘the most unbridled licentiousness’. Somewhat toned down, these spectacles are what are today called carnivals and masquerades, which some seek to introduce into our customs, despite the protests of the ‘lower classes’. Mommsen says that the word

obscene comes from obsco, the name of a town in central Italy, and that it means 'farm labourers'. Lascivious, according to him, comes from Lases, the name of the Etruscan Good Spirits, and that certain songs of the masquerades were called fesceninnas. There are many signs of Etruscan matriarchy that accompanied the foregoing. In the same way, the Pelasgians, settlers of Greece and neighbouring regions, were perfectly matriarchal; psychologically speaking, they are also Latins, in the sense in which I use that word here.

As an extreme example of the lack of masculine zeal and complete domination of women, many historical and contemporary examples from inferior races can be cited. One example: the Nairs, of the Malabar coast in Hindustan:

'Nair society is organised into clans, each comprising between eighty and a hundred people, and divided into families. The family consists of the mother, the children and the maternal uncle. The husband is like a guest, who may only enter the house on certain, specific days, and even then he may not sit at the table with his wife and children.

The mother enjoys the highest esteem, followed by the eldest daughter.

Property belongs exclusively to the mother and is passed on only through the female line.

After describing the wedding ceremonies, Sales (op. cit., p. 91) adds:

'From this moment the marriage is concluded and consummated, but the purpose of this ceremony is not to provide a husband for the young woman; far from it, the person who has officiated, be he a relative, friend or stranger, cannot be her husband, and must, after four or five days, leave the bride's house forever. The whole purpose of this marriage boils down to depriving the maiden of her chastity, and thereby authorising her to have lovers, whom her mother helps her to find; for it is an article of faith among the Nairs 'that the maiden who dies a virgin does not enter paradise'. It is clear that these are religious precepts invented by women.

If the bride is beautiful, three or four Nairs soon join forces to share her, and as the number of partners grows, so does the young woman's fame and glory. She may have as many husbands at once as she pleases; but she usually limits herself to ten or twelve, whom she regards as so many slaves subjugated by her charms.

It goes without saying that these Nairs are one of the most wretched and downtrodden castes of humanity. There are many similar examples in ethnography.

It is common knowledge that the family is the cornerstone of society. The same spirit that governs the formation of the simple family unit governs the complex social group. The same moral, legal, religious, and other concepts govern both groups, with the sole external differences lying in their application to entities of varying complexity.

Studies in ethnic psychology have now established that in races with a patriarchal or masculine psychology, the organisation of the family rests on the sexual zeal or reproductive egoism of men, and that modesty and reserve—fundamental virtues of the family group in these races—owe their existence to that very masculine zeal.

In matriarchal races, there is not always a clearly defined and concrete family group; that social unit is often of indefinite outline, because sexual relations in those races lack the vital core of a single man and his progeny, which patriarchal races possess. But what establishes their most marked difference from a moral standpoint is that their domestic structure is not based on male zeal, and consequently lacks the sense of modesty. This feature of matriarchy is so well known that, upon seeing figures or descriptions of any human race or lineage in which a lack of modesty is evident from their dress or customs, psychologists are certain that matriarchal psychology, with all its other characteristics, prevails in that race.

The restriction of sexual relations, which in the patriarchal family is governed by the man's reproductive self-interest, aided by modesty, in the matriarchal family is subject to external rules, such as taboos, tribal relations, religious prescriptions, material interests, and so on. In such societies, men lack passion and even romantic initiative, whilst women have complete control over all matters relating to the perpetuation of the lineage. There are, of course, many degrees of variation in this regard.

All the great civilisations recorded in history have flourished in matriarchal societies governed by indigenous castes or patriarchal foreign races, with the exception of the contemporary civilisations of the Teutonic nations. This is the bio-psychological foundation of Gumpłowicz's law of civilisation:

'Every powerful essential ethnic element seeks to make the weak element within its sphere of influence, or one that penetrates it, serve its own ends. This thesis on the relationship between heterogeneous ethnic and social elements, this thesis with the consequences that derive from it—without a single exception—contains the complete solution to the enigma of the natural process of human history'.

There is ample evidence that the 'powerful' element and the 'weak' element correspond to the patriarchal and the matriarchal respectively.

The dominant race dictates the laws and imposes its customs on the dominated, following resistance of varying intensity depending on the specific case. The imposition of the patriarchal system in the constitution of the family and of modesty as a domestic virtue upon the weak races by the powerful is the most characteristic feature of the moral struggle waged in societies composed of these two elements. The standard of morality is that of the upper class, and writers and philosophers have taken the severity of their rulers' domestic customs as the basis for the proper administration of states.

All civilisations that have arisen under this regime have declined and perished, after a more or less prolonged period of splendour. It is in the final stages of their evolution that one has witnessed the decline of male sexual vigour, the dulling of modesty, the loosening of family ties, and the emergence in a thousand ways of female influence in the direction of society.

How has this evolution taken place? Ancient thinkers applied this cycle, believing it to be a law peculiar to every society, which from childhood to death was driven by a fatal force of unknown origin. Political evolution, which runs parallel to the morals of these nations, leading them from monarchy to democracy and anarchy before returning to monarchy once more, was called 'ritornelli' by Vico, 'circoli' by Machiavelli, and 'rhythms' by other philosophers. Today biologists understand the cause of this process and its stages. It is simple and contains nothing strange or unusual: the conquering race is always far fewer in number than the one inhabiting the country it has conquered, and moreover born and raised in a climate often very different from that of its new domains. The mingling of the two races, which occurs sooner or later, necessarily results in the absorption of the smaller group by the larger one, an absorption facilitated by the difficulties that acclimatisation poses for the newcomers. To these biological causes of the decline of the ruling class are added sociological ones: namely, that it is these rulers who provide the largest contingent of warriors, sometimes constituting the army entirely on their own, and that they emigrate in great numbers in search of new conquests and new subjects.

All farmers who have taken an interest in improving their animal breeds know full well how, after a few generations, the imported 'fine blood' is depleted when crossbreeds are allowed to reproduce freely amongst themselves and with native animals, until the original, ordinary breed reappears. The situation is the same, though exacerbated in humans by the social causes mentioned.

The phases of the cycles or cycles described by these authors are characterised as follows:

1.^a: Conquering, patriarchal masters, with strict domestic morality, a monarchical regime;

2.^a: Period of miscegenation, ordinarily the most brilliant in terms of culture and civilisation, attenuation of patriarchal traits, weakening of modesty, a less solid political regime, less exclusive to a single caste;

3.^a: Period of absorption or depletion of noble blood, moral decline in every sense; government passes into the hands of the inferior race and an

egalitarian socialist matriarchal regime is established, swiftly followed by moral, social and political dissolution: anarchy. The country is left ready for a new invasion and to begin a new cycle.

The patient research undertaken in recent times by certain German and French scholars regarding the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of those countries where these patterns of civilisation are best known fully confirms the deductions provided by psychology. As the conquering race has been the Germanic one in the peoples where these studies have been conducted, the three periods are characterised as follows:

- 1.1: By the existence of two races, one fair-haired and the other dark-haired and short;
- 2.2: By individuals with mixed ethnic characteristics; and,
- 3.º: By a large majority of people with black hair and of small stature.

The patriarchal family and political system of the countries of southern Europe has been imposed by various Germanic invasions of those regions. The indigenous psychology of the southern part of that continent is distinctly matriarchal. It is well known that the early Greeks, the Pelasgians, did not practise marriage. The Roman patricians, of Germanic origin, found the indigenous family customs of Italy so strange that they called them *mores ferarum*; no one there knew their father. The Spanish Basques still practise the *cubada*, and until just over a century ago the children and husband of an heiress had to take her surname, with the husband losing his own.

The phenomenon of the decline of the Latin race, as the Italian professor Sergi and so many others call it, is therefore merely a process of purification of that race; there is no degeneration but purification, a return to its primitive nature through the elimination of foreign blood. The Pelasgians have reappeared in Greece and southern Italy, the Etruscans in the centre and the Ligurians in the north of the peninsula, just as the Iberians have in Spain and parts of France. Ethnologists estimate that five or six per cent of Germanic blood still remains in those regions.

The return, therefore, of that spirit in southern Europe—one of whose numerous and eloquent manifestations is that tenderness towards convicts—is one of the psychological signs which, alongside the physical ones, attest to the absorption of the patriarchal blood brought there by the last Teutonic invasion. It is therefore not at all inappropriate for the aforementioned Italian criminologist to regard this phenomenon as Latin.

In peoples of matriarchal psychology, whether they have always been so or are slowly returning to their primitive state after an imposed period of patriarchal psychology, this feminist movement does not cause such serious domestic or social disturbances as those it produces in peoples where a long process of selection has developed deep-seated instincts of the opposite psychology.

In matriarchal races, feelings and reasoning—and therefore private and public behaviour—are harmonious and organic in their tendencies. Neither male jealousy nor the

of strict justice have guided the formation of the family in these races as it is constituted there, nor the social aggregate; consequently, the loss of the former and the weakening of the latter do not hinder the evolution of society within the framework in which it develops in such peoples.

When, on the contrary, some cause brings about, within a race or social stratum characterised by primitive patriarchal instincts, any manifestation of the influence of the feminine spirit, it is because male control, his zeal and modesty—which go hand in hand—are in decline; and since in these peoples these sentiments form the basis of the proper organisation of the family, their loss or weakening indicates that the dissolution of the fundamental organic group of society has taken place or is well advanced, that the foundations of the social order are undermined, and that the danger of collapse is imminent.

It is with good reason that the social consensus in patriarchal societies regards all other domestic and social virtues as linked to male zeal, and sees in that zeal the very honour of man. An individual who does not feel that the chastity and modesty of the women in his family are inseparably linked to his own decency is rightly regarded as a degraded, villainous, corrupt being, whom society must regard as an enemy.

The influence of women's control in Latin nations, both in domestic customs and in the running of the state, is immense to this day, though generally hidden, because tradition teaches that the barbarians took offence at women meddling in matters not their concern; and although those men are no longer direct masters, they have formed powerful nations in their ancestral lands that cast sidelong glances at the southern ones.

Latin Americans take pride in women's influence in public affairs. Adolfo Posada (Feminism, page 225) vigorously rejects the belief held by some who deny such influence in Spain. He says:

'But this is not the case: for if one delves a little into our own real life, one realises that, whether by custom, outside or contrary to the law, women exert a personal influence in the spheres of active political life, and public opinion is fully aware of this. Is it a secret to anyone that women play a major role in political intrigues? Is it perhaps a secret how the Church always exerts its influence through women in all situations? Public opinion knows full well that the titles of President of the Council or Minister are by no means merely honorary.'

Posada offers no evidence, as proof of the excellence of feminism which he so praises, of the flourishing progress of that nation where women play a part in political intrigues, and which has a real President and Minister.

It is a fact that women of matriarchal races have more character, more initiative, and are more bossy and headstrong than their sisters of the less feminine patriarchal races.

Women from societies with a masculine mindset owe, as I have said, their domestic virtues to male control; driven by his reproductive self-interest, he has, over many generations, violently eliminated those women who did not offer him complete assurance in his aspirations to be her sole male partner. Hence, only those submissive, devoted and faithful women have survived, who are the delight of the hearts of the men of those very races.

The transformation, therefore, which all observers note in the race of southern Europe, is the result of an inescapable biological law, the course of which will not be halted by the Germanic education of its youth, nor by the childish rantings of some of its publicists. The energy of their women and the weak character of their men are proof that the moral differentiation between the two sexes in that race is lagging behind in its evolution compared to the Germanic race, and that the work of social cooperation is less specialised, less divided, more rudimentary in matriarchal, or 'weak', races—as Gumpłowicz calls them—than in patriarchal, or 'strong', ones. That patient is given up on by the specialists because he is horrified by the only remedy that could cure him, and rejects it in every form it is presented to him; he feels incapable of submitting to the life-saving treatment of selective struggle, taken in the strong dose he requires.

The major role that women play in the perpetuation of the species has meant that selection has subordinated all other functions of their constitution to these; for this reason, they have lagged behind men in their physical, moral and mental development. Furthermore, as her domestic virtues have been developed under the influence of man in the final period of human evolution—the social period—feminine virtues suffer from the lack of steadfastness inherent in her primordial instincts. Hence, women of patriarchal races often feel the need for male moral support to overcome their inclinations towards evil; hence, they claim this support as a right and experience a sweet relief when they feel the stern hand of their husband upon their frail humanity. It is not uncommon for them to set aside their own lamentations to defend that right and that of their husband, and to protest against the interference of some stranger who withdraws, believing that woman to be foolish.

Chastity will only be a great virtue when it is a powerful instinct, says Nietzsche. Zarathustra once received advice from a woman. She was an old woman who knew how to analyse her own thoughts and who possessed a great treasure of experience, in which the most precious thing was a small truth:

'Give me, woman, your little truth!' I said to

her. And the old woman spoke thus:

'Do you go to women? Do not forget the huasca.'

It used to be a custom in Russia, and today it exists only in some regions, that the bride's father would present his future son-in-law, at the time of the marriage, with a small symbolic scarf. It is well known that Russians are very devoted to their wives.

'The fact that a woman often loves a strong man who mistreats her more than a weak man who treats her well shows how great a mistake the husband makes in accepting a subordinate position'

(H. Spencer)

The Goths, who were deeply devoted to their families, were gentle with their wives; on the other hand, when there were no carts available during a tribal march, the men would carry their wives on their backs.

Among the names that an Araucanian wife gave her husband was *epunamum*, that is, 'he who carries me in his arms', or 'on his back', as Gómez translates it.

It is well known that men have had extensive rights over their wives in all patriarchal societies, rights that have diminished as customs have become more lenient. The right of life and death that the Roman husband held over his wife was surely nothing more than the justification of an ancient custom, customary law transformed into positive law, into written law, and which came to an end in prehistoric times among Germanic families, with women possessing polyandrous instincts—a fact to which that softening of the customs of the patriarchal household and its expression in written laws was due.

In matriarchal societies, it is the woman who rules the family, and to a large extent the state as well; civil and political rights are inherited through the female line, and children inherit their mother's name, since the father's name cannot be known with certainty when a single woman has several husbands. The state of perfect matriarchy is found today only in tribes that remain in a state of savagery or barbarism. In matriarchal peoples who have reached civilisation, especially those who have been subjected to patriarchal conquerors for many centuries and have intermarried with them, the signs of matriarchy appear today to be greatly attenuated and, above all, concealed; nevertheless, they remain highly visible to psychologists.

The wife of a patriarchal or male-dominated race feels subordinate to her husband; she finds deep pleasure in submitting her will, even in the most trivial details of domestic life, to the will of the father of her children. Through marriage, this class of women loses a great deal

of her own personality and even of her intelligence, as Spencer asserts; and her children become merely a part of the man.

The woman of matriarchal races, even the most civilised ones, such as the Latins, retains passionate remnants of the era of her former dominance. Such a woman marries with the deep conviction that it is her right and duty to guide her husband, not only to steer him away from any harmful habits, but also to instil in him her way of understanding things, her feminine spirit, and to direct his mental activity, to govern him, in a word, to 'tame' him, as some are wont to say, and they boast of it as a great triumph, as the most beneficial work, when they succeed. She vies for the moral and religious guidance of her children until she secures it; in the running of the household she admits of not the slightest interference, since she is the one who understands such matters and is the queen of the home, as she proclaims herself to be. She rarely, if ever, says 'your' children when speaking to her husband, but rather 'my' children. This situation, present at every moment and for life within the domestic home, sustained with the tenacity of a necessary organic function—since it is merely the sterilisation of the functioning of inherited brain structures—is one of the most serious obstacles to the peace and happiness of the marriage between a man of patriarchal psychology and a woman of opposing instincts. It is likewise the heaviest obstacle to the evolution towards patriarchy of the Latin race, many of whose men feel a tendency towards that natural evolution. I have already noted that women offer greater resistance than men to organic evolution.

The fierce and bloodthirsty jealousy, a product in prehistoric man of his reproductive selfishness, ceased once the mission for which he was created was fulfilled, and in its place arose the vigilant jealousy of every moment, but without violent outbursts, which were no longer necessary, and thus were established the orderly sexual relations of patriarchal marriage with its hereditary rights to the wife's life.

That psychic harmony of patriarchal marriages has ultimately transformed the animal procreative instinct of primitive man into the love of the husband, which is neither sensual passion nor the passionate love of the suitor, but a calm, natural feeling, like that felt for a part of one's own being, for the best part of one's own being; a feeling which finds no broad basis for development in matriarchal spouses in a state of transition, such as that currently being experienced by the southern European peoples. Hence the curious fact that it is precisely among those races whose ancestors shed their wives' blood in torrents that, to this day, uxoricide is rarer, almost unheard of. The husband whose conjugal honour has been offended prefers to vent his anger upon the offending man. For a German of sound principles, to kill his wife would be like stabbing his own heart. Conversely, the matriarchal man, despite his weak or non-existent reproductive egoism, takes revenge for an offence against his legal right of ownership—which is the strongest instinct in him—or against his sensitivity as a husband, by preferring to take it out on his eternal rival in every moment. I do not think it necessary to repeat that the above is the general rule. The exceptions, here as always, prove the rule.

The social consequences arising from the differing marital psychology between patriarchal and matriarchal societies are numerous and far-reaching. Without mentioning the importance of women's involvement in the running of society, nor the laws that

govern the constitution of the family in each, I wish to say a few words here about the fundamental difference that exists between what is called feminism in matriarchal nations and what is referred to by the same word in Germanic nations.

In Latin nations, what is understood by feminism is in reality an atavistic return to the actual dominance of women, to the imposition of the feminine mindset upon the governance of the state. That is why the three most characteristic features of matriarchy are combined in the feminist social doctrines of those countries: the communist conception of property, the substitution of charity for justice in the distribution of social benefits, and the suppression of the virtues which, in patriarchal societies, form the foundation of family morality and general morality. Political feminism in England is a completely different phenomenon: there, the same most interesting phenomenon that appeared in Australia and New Zealand is beginning: a natural reaction towards a more democratic regime. As English women, whether from Europe or Oceania, are not permitted to hold opinions differing from those of their husbands, the right to vote granted to married women in British Australia was merely the spontaneous establishment of what politicians call proportional voting: the married man thus had two votes at his disposal. In this way, democratic doctrines were imposed on the political leadership of those British colonies, leading them rapidly towards marvellous prosperity. Now that the democratic reaction has been achieved, the importance of the female vote has almost entirely ceased, and today Australian women, with few exceptions, stay at home on polling day, whilst Australian men laugh heartily as they recall the days of their most splendid political campaign with their wives' suffrage.

Feminism in the US is merely a transient moral problem developing in some of its major cities, a problem that will be satisfactorily resolved the day they set to work on it, a task already being undertaken by its major newspapers.

That is why the other signs of matriarchy are not seen in England, nor in Australia, nor in North America. The individualism that dominates the US is unique in the world for its severity, as we shall see later. English domestic virtues of manhood are exemplary across the globe. Latin feminism and German feminism are two distinct phenomena sharing the same name. I shall analyse this matter in greater detail later when discussing the political concept of the Chilean people.

And returning to the status of the wife among patriarchal peoples, I recalled that an adulterous woman among the Araucanians forfeited her right to exist, her life being at her husband's mercy; however, the indigenous husband, who was extremely jealous and inexorable towards the man who had attacked his honour, usually confined himself to selling the unfaithful wife into slavery or returning her to her parents, who were obliged to return to the offended son-in-law whatever they had received from him at the time of the marriage.

Whilst the ancient Romans had the right of life and death over their wives, history records no instance in which that right was exercised; it was only after it was abolished, for the honour and benefit of women, that cowardly uxoricides of all kinds began to feature prominently among the senseless crimes of the dark times of the Empire.

But there is no way to convince Latinos with facts. The lesson contained in the facts stems from the store of ideas held in the mind, and we already know that, according to Feri, the brain of this race only comes into its own when stimulated by the excitement of the moment, whether that be caused by a current event or by words. Let them continue to believe that they are the ones who know best how to love their women because they demand every freedom and every right for them; but let them not try to make us believe those words from the very people who let them perish in fires or drown in shipwrecks without offering them any help.

4. A biological cause of the decline of societies.

The last of the three periods into which, for the sake of description, I have divided the cycle of civilisations is the shortest. The height and splendour attained during the period of miscegenation sometimes prolong the life of these societies through the inertia of things, when no opportunity arises to test their resilience; but beneath that glittering veneer lies, in their final days, a skeleton gnawed away by moral decay. From then on, the slope turns into a precipice.

How does the corruption of morals bring about what is called the degeneration of races? Not all thinkers have linked the constant simultaneity of these two phenomena, but without identifying their true cause. It is not the corruption of morals that brings about the degeneration of a race—or rather, of a society—of which I speak; on the contrary, it is the exhaustion or extinction of the superior race, whose spirit had been the creative force of that civilisation, that brings about its moral and political ruin. But it is true that the effect in turn becomes a factor accelerating the decline: once domestic customs have become unrestrained, the last remnants of the dominant race quickly disappear.

When men of a higher caste or social class in a patriarchal race lose, whether through impurity of blood or some other cause, their sexual vigour, modern sociologists explain the phenomenon of their degeneration without invoking providential punishments for the corruption that the loss of that virtue brings with it, nor do they content themselves with supposing a hidden cause. They proceed as biologists do when seeking to explain a case of extensive variation within a species: they begin by ascertaining the conditions under which the function of its perpetuation takes place, before moving on to other investigations, and there they have found it evident.

Degeneration in this case is merely quantitative; there is no radical psychological change, but only a decline in its manifestations: character is dulled, intelligence is clouded, ideals are diminished, ambitions are curtailed. It is precisely the hallmarks of social superiority that have been lost. For the watchful eye of zeal is, if not the sole, then the most effective guardian ensuring that actual human parentage corresponds to that recorded in the Civil Registry or parish registers. In those classes where man has lost

that virtue which generates the morality of the home, it soon becomes apparent, sometimes from the very first generation, that the offspring of lineages which have produced honourable citizens with lofty patriotic aspirations, begin to display—without anyone knowing from whom they have inherited it, and at times with astonishing precocity—the clumsy temperament of coachmen, the instincts of kitchen hands, or the ambitions of the vulgar. There is no degeneration in this; species and races do not degenerate in this way; this is called substitution. And it is, unfortunately, the men of worth for their other qualities—those whose mental activity consumes most of their energies for the benefit of society itself—who are the first victims of this bastardised process.

In these times of decline, the good and the far-sighted marry late; the wicked, having banded together, exclude them from public affairs; and social unrest grows and intensifies until it provokes a reaction:

‘Individual superiority,’ says Lapouge, ‘is a cause not only of a positive decline in the birth rate, but also of direct elimination in imperfect social states, and the mechanism of decline is a regressive selection that eliminates the superior elements. Economists say that a weak currency drives out the strong; in the conflict of classes and races, the inferior defeats the superior.’

This occurs when superior races allow themselves to be duped by the self-serving rhetoric of the inferior races regarding the absurdity of the equality of all human races.

5. The masculine and feminine criteria of justice. The biological basis for the necessity of domestic virtues, especially in women.

The philanthropic madness in Santiago has, as can be seen from the above, a far more serious significance than might be inferred from a superficial examination. It is a visible manifestation of the disruptive influence of women on the administration of the State.

‘Only justice makes peoples great and happy’ is an aphorism repeated by all thinkers. Women often speak of justice; but one must not be taken in by words, but rather observe what they mean by that term, and how they proceed.

Justice, says Spencer, implies ‘that each individual reaps the favourable or unfavourable results of his own nature and the conduct arising therefrom’, or as we say, ‘to each his due and for his own good’:

“But it is a most distinctive feature of women’s nature,” adds the same philosopher, “a consequence of their maternal functions, to distribute benefits not in proportion to merit, but in proportion to the lack of merit, giving more where capacity is less.”

Even those who have not witnessed it can nevertheless perfectly understand the case of a virtuous and sensible mother who waits, concealing her impatience, for her son—who struggles to support his family—to fall asleep, exhausted by the day’s labour, to tiptoe into his room, search his pockets and take his meagre savings, emerging triumphant with her spoils and muttering with the air of one proclaiming an unspoken truth:

‘It’s not fair that this one should have extra money when the other will often be short of a peso for food.’

‘The other’ is the eldest son, the scoundrel of the family, a selfish rascal who has found reasons to convince himself that only fools work in this world.

When, from this saltpetre-strewn pampa, I imagine our most exalted leaders approaching the cradle of a bandit’s infant—one of those sponsored by Saint Koska—with a motherly smile, and gently stroking his cheeks with their fingertips whilst saying ‘agú’ in a mellifluous voice, I see, as if I were looking at it with my own eyes, that it is the women of those leaders’ families—wives, mothers, sisters or daughters—who have dragged them into parading themselves so pitifully before the virile people they govern, a people who are struck with dread at the soul-shaking metamorphosis of their superior men, and who ask themselves in anguish: ‘Where will this lead us?’

Is there anyone with even a passing knowledge of our recent history who is unaware of the two mysteries Isidora Errázuriz spoke of as the causes of the tragic events of ’91?

Chile has already, on one occasion, been ruled by women. This was many years ago. It was in the mid-17th century when the elderly Acuña arrived in Chile as governor, married to a young Italian woman, the Pallavicini, who took command of the colony whilst her husband was recovering from long-standing rheumatism. Dressed as a man and mounted on a spirited steed, she led a campaign against the Araucanians to take prisoners and sell them as slaves. The outcome is easy to guess. The disaster was appalling and the colony was on the verge of being lost.

I quote from the historian Carvallo y Goyenechea (*Historians of Chile*, Volume 9, p. 74 ff.) the passages that illustrate what an ‘Indian uprising’ meant in those days. The admirable espionage network maintained by the Araucanians enabled them to learn well in advance of the intentions of the President and her brothers, so they sent out the signal ordering the uprising and setting the day and hour. These movements were

organised with such skill and consummate artistry that their effects were always devastating. These American savages were as destructive and fearsome in their military expeditions as the Europeans.

Under the command of the toqui Leubu-Pillán, the Araucanía rose up en masse:

‘At the very same moment, they descended upon all the settlements and estates in the territory between the Maule and Bío-Bío rivers, and attacked the towns situated in the interior of their country. They took more than one thousand three hundred Spaniards captive. They plundered three hundred and ninety-six estates. They seized four hundred thousand head of cattle, horses, goats and sheep; and the loss to the settlers and the king amounted to eight million pesos, of which a legal record was made. The towns and forts were abandoned, leaving only Arauco, Boroa and a small fort on Chepe Hill. They destroyed all the houses of conversion. They took their missionaries captive and carried off and desecrated the sacred vessels; with sacrilegious contempt they shattered and defiled the holy images, and set the churches ablaze.

The historian Carvallo goes on to list the ravages wrought by the Indians, and concludes:

“These horrible evils were caused by the interest and flattery fostered by a woman.”

The people of Concepción rioted, and Acuña would have been lynched had he not taken refuge in the Jesuit convent. He was eventually dismissed, despite a report containing false witnesses bribed with her beauty, which the Italian woman sent to the king.

In defence of the ‘cowardly’ Araucanians for their irreverence towards the images, I must recall that our indigenous ancestors never had an image of their God, so they believed that the conquistadors worshipped the images of the saints as gods, which deeply offended their religious beliefs; for this reason, they were always furious iconoclasts, just as the conquistadors had once been. The Araucanians played great games of chueca with the heads of the wooden images. They were barbarians.

The presence of a woman in the foreign army fuelled such hopes of reconquest among the Indians that they were, in fact, on the verge of achieving it. There were even some who suggested that the conquest of Arauco, and indeed of the entire south, should be abandoned for good.

The historian Carvallo recounts several acts of the indigenous ‘daredevils’ who had truly terrorised the colony’s military metropolis, Concepción, of those

acts of Araucan audacity by the Huentrun, who carried them out smiling, more like someone playing a joke than someone performing a feat, and Carvallo concludes:

‘And to put it bluntly, their audacity went so far that at three o’clock in the afternoon they took a sacristan from the Cathedral captive within the town.’

(Volume IX, p. 90)

And after this digression on history, which always teaches us something, I return to the subject.

The people of Santiago probably cannot imagine the conclusions that those who are aware of what these signs of women’s involvement in external affairs signify might draw regarding what goes on within their own homes.

I have already pointed out that on this moral issue the slope is very steep. There is no manifestation of it, however insignificant it may seem, that does not entail grave consequences. As in all religions of patriarchal origin, Darwinian science holds that, in all matters concerning the proper functioning of the mechanisms that perpetuate the species, there is no such thing as a trivial matter. Nor is there any such thing as a trivial moment: a single fateful minute can destroy forever the selective work of long centuries. The social benefits derived from compliance with the law of survival of the fittest are intimately linked to the perpetuation of the nature of the most capable, not to that of their surnames. It is, therefore, female morality in this matter that is of paramount importance, and it is only in this that selection has willed that this virtue should possess a physical sign attesting to its existence.

I regret that I cannot elaborate further on this thesis, which is one of the fundamental tenets of evolutionary ethics and the most significant, yet one that cannot be addressed by the press. And I regret it because, being by its very nature the aspect that most genuinely characterises the sexual moral difference, a more detailed analysis of it would have made the gulf separating the two psychologies clearer.

Those who read only the works of the Latin countries, or the few from the Germanic countries translated into Romance languages because they agree with the former in some respects, will not imagine the vast difference in criteria on this issue that guides the literatures of those peoples. Even less will they be able to grasp, unless they have lived in the intimacy of families of both races, the complete disparity in upbringing and behaviour between them.

The uneducated German people do not reason, but they possess these deep-rooted instincts that guide them; the most distinguished among them are fully aware of this and accord it all the importance

it deserves. During the last World's Fair in Paris, I was one day visiting the palaces of fine arts in the company of a Russian doctor, who drew my attention to the great difference that was apparent at first glance in the number of nudes on display in the sections of the Latin countries compared with the Germanic countries. Only two in the English section—the well-known Lady Godiva and another of equally modest intent; very few in the German section, and none in the Russian. In all the nudes from the matriarchal countries, the intention to arouse sexual passion was very evident, and in many cases the indecency that marred works of the most exquisite craftsmanship, especially in sculpture, caused deep distaste. The serene and most chaste nudity of the statue of classical Greek art had no representative there. Although it was an observation I had made, the doctor drew particular conclusions from it. The complete absence of nudes in the five or six great halls of his homeland seemed to fill him with pride, and he pointed it out to me as conclusive proof of the superiority of his race; he based the justice of Pan-Slavism—or world domination by the Slavs—on that superiority, and told me, with the conviction of a fifth-century barbarian, that God had destined his race to restore virtue to the world.

I am also aware that English families did not visit that exhibition for any other reason than that the English press had publicised that particular aspect of the art on display there in halls, porticos, gardens, avenues, etc.: everywhere and under any pretext.

Since Spencer published his *Data of Ethics*, no man of science is permitted to believe in an absolute and universal morality. Every people, every race has its own, shaped by its particular customs. Therefore, in the present matter, what is immoral for patriarchal peoples is not so for others. The characteristic feature of the religions of peoples with a matriarchal psychology is precisely the existence of female deities in their pantheon, coexisting with rites and practices deemed 'improper' when judged by masculine moral standards; yet these are as pure and sacred to them as ours are to us. The Latin nations would not display this mark of their spirit for the world to see if they believed it to be immoral. Far from concealing it, as they observe that this sign of psychological reversal is becoming ever more pronounced among them, they regard it as a sure sign of progress and civilisation, and if its public manifestations are not yet more apparent, it is only because they know from tradition, from the control exercised over them from afar by the Germanic nations, and from the teachings of Christianity, that modesty and chastity are the foundation of family morality.

The above is stated, naturally, as a general thesis. It is the obvious result of comparing these two races, without thereby overlooking the numerous exceptions found in both. The primitive Pelasgian, Etruscan or Iberian customs will no longer prevail in all their former crudeness in southern Europe: the natural evolution from matriarchy to patriarchy is a well-known aspect of moral progress.

6. Moral crisis in Latin countries. Its biological cause.

From the foregoing, one can appreciate the profound truth of the harm that the doctrines of the Latin peoples, introduced into Chile, may cause to our race, whose psychology is so distinctly patriarchal.

What European writers have come to call the 'moral crisis', and which today afflicts the thinkers of that continent, essentially encapsulates the fundamental conflict in ethnic psychology that I have outlined between those various peoples. For a large part of the educated public, dogmatic religious assertions on matters of morality are not enough, and since writers generally do not understand the biological basis of ethnicity, they find themselves powerless to steer the contradictory opinions expressed there in a specific direction, opinions which have ultimately produced a veritable anarchy of the mind. This conflict is therefore profound, as are the racial origins from which it springs. Among the Latin peoples, where moral anarchy is rife, the inherited inner sentiments belong, with ever greater purity, to the original races of those countries, and the criteria by which the visible manifestations of those instincts— that is, their customs, is that which the peoples of patriarchal psychology who have possessed those regions have left behind in their traditions, literature, legislation, etc. The conflict is, therefore, between concept and precept; the former belongs to one race and the latter to another. Roman law and the moral standards of the patricians, which to this day are willingly observed, with slight variations, by the Germanic countries of Europe, are instinctively resisted by the Latin peoples.

This moral anarchy is beginning to make itself felt among the writers of our country, with its inevitable train of countless evils. Very often I read in certain southern newspapers, particularly those of Santiago, the most vigorous condemnations of political immorality, the lack of administrative integrity, the venality of public officials, etc., which have recently become widespread in Chile. Well then, those very same newspapers have declared themselves enthusiastic and staunch champions of feminism, a doctrine—or 'movement', as they call it— intended to save humanity from all its ills, and by extension our country. And they repeat all the arguments and reasoning of writers from the matriarchal societies of Europe and America.

The most furious critic of the blunders or misdeeds he observes in our rulers is also the most feminist, and as he is the spokesperson for a political party, we would have incorporated that 'movement' into militant politics here before the Latin American countries did. That newspaper does not hesitate to admit all the logical consequences of feminism in its editorials, calling modesty 'prudishness' and reserve 'hypocrisy', and panmixia is its idea of sexual relations. It has, therefore, not the faintest idea of the true scientific doctrine on this matter. It complains of the evils it sees through a Chilean lens and prescribes remedies based on the Latin ideas currently in vogue in the capital. This mental inconsistency is catching on; the provincial newspapers of that party follow the one in Santiago, and the absurdity is becoming the norm in Chile, with no one attempting to combat it. It is time to begin.

Naturally, it is our maternal government that sets the tone by which the whole orchestra is tuned. I am not referring to the dispossession of the hard-working son for the benefit of the rogue, but to a

chapter that is completely original and unprecedented across the globe, featured in the official Statistical Synopsis, etc., of this country where we, the descendants of Caupolicán, live. This chapter is titled in bold letters: 'Feminism'; and in it the official writer begins by lamenting that in Chile 'a campaign in favour of feminism, as in some European countries', has not yet been launched; but he consoles himself and offers an apology to the nation and abroad by listing what is being done in this regard, pointing to it as a promise of the promising future that awaits us here in the not-too-distant future. In none of the matriarchal countries, where feminism is innate in the population, have the rulers accepted it as a programme or as an aspiration of the State. The mocking and disdainful smile that the very name of feminism provokes in countries of the 'strong race', and also common sense itself, has left them lagging behind our progressive government in this movement. The phrase in quotation marks is taken from the Synopsis published in the first year of this century, page 292.

So it seems that we have already had feminism as a political party programme, and certainly as a government programme since the beginning of the 20th century. But we already know that women's involvement in public affairs indicates a neglect of domestic duties. A weakening of male authority, an atrophy of zeal and of the virtues derived from it. There are public indications that the picture is complex, as one might logically suppose.

As these letters are to be compiled into a small volume, for which I have your authorisation, and as books have a long life, I wish, sir, to put these facts on record, along with the date of their emergence in our society; for with each passing day, thinkers of the evolutionary school attach greater importance to moral issues, the biological basis of which is now clear, in explaining the progress of societies.

It is with a heavy heart that, in obedience to the mandate of the higher interests of the race, I am going to write the following pages.

I wish first to state, because I know it to be true, that it is false to claim that our entire upper class, the flower of our race, has been swept up in the accursed maelstrom of immorality and cowardice that afflicts the country today. The noblest lineages have withdrawn almost entirely from public affairs. If one looks, not at Chileans, but at individuals of Chilean race, it becomes very clear which branches of our aristocracy have been corrupted; it is easy to note the Latin surnames of recent origin that appear in the government, allied with branches of ancient and most noble Chilean families, imprinting on every undertaking that falls into their hands the stamp of their particular spirit. It is more difficult, if not impossible, for those who have not carried out special research to identify the Chilean lineages bastardised by the first Latin invasion of which Abbot Gómez de Vidaurre speaks, and which he so patriotically deplors.

One must get used to making this distinction between Chileans by birth and Chileans by race if one wishes to appreciate our ethnic characteristics, for whilst it is true that certain unfavourable unions have not produced the evils that were to be feared, it is common for our racial qualities to appear diluted in these mixed-race souls, if not perverted, unbalanced or entirely nullified.

The Chilean is intellectually modest, which, combined with a more or less marked lack of imaginative brilliance, places him at a disadvantage compared to the southern European races, when he is superficially judged to be of inferior qualities. The honest and patriotic man mistrusts his own abilities as a ruler; he fears the responsibility that would weigh on his conscience if the public service he performs, or his homeland, were to suffer harm through his incompetence and presumption. These traits of his character have gradually removed many truly superior men from the public arena; they have been replaced by others of opposite dispositions, drawn from the inferior variety of our own race or from the mixed-race offspring of matriarchal races.

This sidelining of the best has subsequently dragged down the good, and then the mediocre. Today, one can count on the fingers of one hand those who still struggle against the devastating torrent. The women, who in an endless procession currently throng the staircases of the government palace and fill the waiting rooms, will end up driving the few men who still fight away from La Moneda, for nothing annoys serious men more than the interference of women in the grave affairs of state.

7. The immorality of a section of our aristocracy is a recent phenomenon. It marks the emergence of certain signs of moral decay. Experimental science vindicates domestic virtues.

‘One might say that the spread of immorality is the defining feature of the period in question.’

A partial confession.

The editor of that official magazine refers to the expectation, or phantom as he calls it, of obtaining money without working, resorting to all manner of fraud. The picture of demoralisation and misrule described to us by the newspapers of all political parties is well known, so there is no need to repeat it in these pages; but it is worth recalling that these reproaches do not touch the core strata, the trunk and roots of our race.

I shall therefore record some most distressing public events which clearly reveal that the evil has reached the very marrow and that its cure is the work of a surgeon alone.

which I have recalled as the foundation of private and public morality—domestic virtues, which have always placed our families on a par with the noblest of the manly nations of Europe—now bears unmistakable signs of degeneration. I wish to note the date on which these have appeared in our society, for it proves that the evil is recent and that its spread must still be very limited.

1. In the autumn of 1902, ladies and young women of our aristocracy attended a performance of immoral plays in Chile for the first time.

Such spectacles are the exclusive preserve of the Latin nations of Europe; their actors and impresarios are Latin, as are their themes and their message. The Santiago impresario began the series of runs aimed at the capital's aristocratic families with the skill of a professional corrupter: he chose from his repertoire those plays whose baseness was not so obvious or sustained, leaving the ladies the opportunity to conceal, behind their fans or by striking up a sudden conversation, their lack of embarrassment at the crude passages. Scouting the terrain with an expert eye, he realised he could soon reach his goal. The newspapers in Santiago have been reporting on the performances witnessed by those families. Among these performances are some that are indecent from the very title, in which not only is the plot profoundly immoral, but their scenes, their words, their so-called jokes are of such shamelessly immodest licence that I dare not describe them with the words they deserve. The indecency of such plays is so consistent that it seems calculated so that, however skilful the art of dissimulation may be in the woman watching them, there can be no doubt as to their complete lack of decorum. Poor things! From the depths of my heart I pity them. They are not to blame.

In that school of objective teaching, they will have learnt that marriage is necessary only for the sake of the children's shared surname; that fidelity is a trifle; that the husband is the most ridiculous creature in society; that modesty, reserve, chastity and all the other nonsense spouted by some old women are relics of the past and expressions of their spite and envy; that the world is marching on and heading straight for the definitive and complete triumph of women, of free women.

But they will be satisfied. They know the lesson by heart and are ready to go to La Moneda to secure them a job, a contract, a trip to Europe, and they will arrive at the 'Palace' with the encouraging smile and submissive demeanour of the woman making a request, whilst they wait calmly in the club or on the promenades, philosophising about the advantages of having a beautiful wife and turning a blind eye, and giving themselves that exaggerated air of importance typical of the husband aware of his misfortune.

These men, who are the ones who have skewed our crime statistics, must now be more convinced than ever of this people's tenacious and incurable ineptitude when it comes to moving forward with civilisation, for they cannot have failed to notice that neither the educated classes, neither the 'middle-class' nor the working-class ones have brought along the women or even the young men of their families, thereby following the stupid example of the aristocracy which, in their view, remains hypocritical and backward. They will have noted with feigned bitterness that the only women attending those sessions were their own, who

occupied the first-class seats, whilst in that 'paradise' were other women, the most unfortunate in society. History will take note of this picture.

Some newspapers in Santiago, especially the capital's oldest publication, in a scathing editorial entitled 'The Triumph of the Can-Can', condemned this novelty in Santiago's customs in the strongest terms; but their argument was based solely on their editors' instinctive—and entirely correct—feelings on the matter, or on the precepts of Christian morality. There exists, therefore, in Chile—as among those Latin American writers who style themselves sociologists—a lack of understanding of the biological basis of sexual morality, the foundation of general morality among peoples of a masculine psychology. For that reason I have dwelled on this question of such paramount importance.

It is not in the name of any speculative philosophical doctrine, nor in the name of any religion, but in the name of modern experimental science that it is now possible to affirm that domestic virtues, extolled by the greatest poets of all countries and times, are the Holy Ark, untouchable, which holds the secret of happiness and the perfection of man.

However, in contrast to those newspapers, the feminist publication in Santiago warmly applauded this behaviour on the part of a section of the Chilean aristocracy, calling it 'taking off the mask', and gave prominent space in its columns to the list of the ladies attending each event. There their names will remain archived in perpetuity for anyone who later wishes to ascertain the inner causes of the events that will continue our history.

2. The invasion of immoral novels with no merit other than their brazen indecency, which continue the work of the 'lowbrow' genre of the theatres—novels generally 'illustrated' with figures of the same ilk, and which are delivered to homes or hawked in the streets and promenades. Along with these have appeared in droves sellers of indecent prints and photographs, who swarm freely through the cities and are extending their trade to the villages and the countryside.

A veritable plague of such traders has descended upon this region. With a large basket on their backs, they roam the saltpetre offices offering obscene books, oil prints and pictures to the saltpetre workers.

A personal anecdote on this subject, if I may.

It must be a month since I saw the first of these scoundrels at a railway station. As soon as he saw me, the man approached and handed me an open booklet of those prints. I leafed through it briefly without saying a word, looked at the man and handed the booklet back.

He perhaps thought I found the images uninspiring, so he winked at me and, with a cynical, roguish smile, unwrapped a packet of photographs and leaned in to show them to me up close and in confidence. The indecency of the photographs I managed to catch a glimpse of was so repugnant that I could not suppress the impulse to push him away from me with a gentle shove.

The man became angry and demanded that I explain my behaviour, which I did with this outburst, more or less: 'Get lost, you scoundrel. Is that why you've come to America, to encourage corruption instead of coming to work? Your own countrymen ought to have stopped you from coming here to bring your homeland into disrepute.'

I was walking away when I realised the fellow was following me, and with a provocative gesture, with the insolence peculiar to them, he grabbed me by the arm to stop me. I found myself forced, sir, to slap him a few times to make him let go, and with my blood now boiling, I overturned his basket and also tore up some of his notebooks.

I know he has sued me, and I presume the judge will order me to pay for that merchandise, which enjoys duty-free status at our customs. As for the blows, I believed I had dealt them in self-defence.

And I walked away thinking of what a poor man might say if he returned home sad because he had found no work, his job taken by a stranger brought from distant lands for that very purpose, and upon entering, he were to catch his little children leafing through one of those notebooks, brought into his home by another of those strangers.

The question of whether I had struck the man rightly or wrongly was not clear in my mind, and I was mulling over this moral dilemma when suddenly I resolved the problem: the slaps were necessary, just; but the man who had received them did not deserve them. What fault was it of the wretch's that they had gone to fetch him from his homeland from this very country that rejected the only trade he knew, that of selling photographs of the customs of those distant villages? The guilty party was someone else. That wretched smile, which struck me as that of a pimp, was perhaps merely that of a peddler—the two being very similar. So the mathematical formula that solved the problem was: 'x = I slapped the Moor and the Christian took the blows'. It will serve as a lesson to me.

3. This year, the feminist newspaper in Santiago gave its subscribers an illustrated almanac, in which the programme and propaganda articles of the political party it serves as a mouthpiece alternate with engravings and pornographic texts.

4. Last year, some statues of satyrs and fauns were brought to the Museum of Sculpture Copies in Santiago.

Sculptures of these demigods from ancient Latin times are a common feature in museums in certain countries of that race. People, especially women, gaze upon them with a certain religious reverence. These effigies reawaken in them neural pathways not yet entirely atrophied, an organic legacy of their distant ancestors, and stir up passionate memories, not yet extinguished, of their distant forebears of the 'morae ferarum'. One sees them lingering for a long time amongst them, entranced, motionless, held captive by an inexplicable and most gentle allure, like the final wisp of a fading scent, like the sweet melancholy of hazy memories of distant childhood, remaining attentive as if, across long generations, they heard within themselves the distant and mysterious music of the wood nymphs of the sacred forest calling them to the fulfilment of their warm rites; and there

they linger, intoxicated by the aesthetic emotion that stirs the depths of their racial soul. These statues are therefore profoundly artistic to them.

But what can those hybrid figures of man and goat, those strange beings with lewd human faces and goat's hooves, tell us Chileans? To most people they will seem merely the fantasy of a mad sculptor. Those who know only from books that there were once men of flesh and blood who worshipped beings of that form have not yet emerged from their stupor. They therefore remain mute to Chileans, and for a sculpture to be a work of art, it must speak to the soul. For us Chileans who know what those hybrid figures symbolise, they simply represent a moral monstrosity, which we cannot contemplate without a certain revulsion.

The people of Santiago will no doubt have taken their wives, daughters or sisters to admire the new acquisitions of the Museum of Copies, and whilst the men have understood nothing, the women will have made many calculations, for women possess marvellous intuitions in such matters and can guess what they do not know.

5. The capital's newspapers have, for the past year or two, taken to the habit of announcing aristocratic marriages by stating that 'Miss So-and-so' is to marry 'Mr Such-and-such'. Previously, it was men who married women there. This change in the order in which the bride and groom are named may seem to some to be of trivial significance; but, bearing in mind the other facts, this order of words indicates the hierarchy of ideas in the minds of those newspaper writers, and although it is a detail, it is a detail of the same picture.

6. A certain intellectual trend has also emerged in our fine national literature over the past two or three years, which is equally revealing.

This is the profusion of erotic poetry of the kind cultivated by the poetess Sappho, that is, of those in which the fire of amorous passion is combined with the desire to humble oneself, to sacrifice oneself for the beloved—a sentiment very characteristic of that poetess, though unbalanced, and which ultimately led her to suicide; but in Santiago it has appeared among men, though they do not commit suicide.

They judge the beauty of such 'poems' by the degree of humiliation before the adored woman that the author has managed to express. And there are those who excel in the art. One must see the enthusiasm with which they declare themselves to be surrendered slaves, prostrate at the feet of their queen, their goddess, and the ingenuity they display in finding and bestowing upon themselves the most humiliating titles. The ideal of the perfect lover is, according to them, to spend one's entire life, eternity itself, bowing before one's idol, as submissive, humble, obedient and faithful as a dog.

The newspapers call these writings 'tropical poets'; they call one another 'vates', with the addition of one or more sonorous adjectives.

The song of these bards makes me fear that the caste of the gurruminos has already taken root in the country, for when a man prostrates himself in that manner, a woman takes up the whip. And with good reason.

That the existence of men who feel romantic passion in this way is a sign of female control in human selection, and consequently a matriarchal sign, cannot be doubted.

I have extracted from the book *L'Europa Giovane*, by the intelligent Latin author G. Ferrero, the following quotations on this very topic:

'The first and greatest difference in the way romantic emotion is felt between the peoples of the south and the Germanic peoples lies in the varying degrees of idealisation.'

"This fundamental and organic difference determines, in the Germanic countries, a very special sexual morality, which can be studied in England better than in any other country.

The man of the South, in his naive ignorance, mocks this morality; yet, something they cannot even begin to imagine, this morality is one of the most magnificent moral phenomena in all of human history; and far from being a hypocritical farce, it is, on the contrary, one of the most serious and profound creations of that race."

Without knowledge of biology, this author cannot scientifically substantiate his views, though they are exceptionally accurate among the writings of his race.

The German, the patriarchal man, far from feeling that crushing of the will when he is in love, experiences, on the contrary, an increase in his energy; he does not dream of humiliation before anyone, nor is material pleasure the end he primarily aspires to, however much it may be the natural incentive that enters into his calculations. His aim is fatherhood, to establish a home, to have children of his own blood to whom he may devote the fruits of his labour and the tenderness of his heart, children who will perpetuate his name and inherit his energy. His wife is, first and foremost, the mother of his children, and then flesh of his flesh, bone of his bones and soul of his soul; an extension of his own being; but flesh, bones and soul that will require outside support because they are weak; he knows this, and his manly nature is so developed by selection that his energy is doubled, his ambition broadens, and he feels he has the strength necessary to walk the path of life with her in his arms.

It is very common among Germanic peoples (and was even more so in ancient times) for a man wishing to marry to entrust his mother with the task of finding him a wife. The happiness of such marriages is proverbial, and is easily understood. A matriarchal society considers it absurd, stupid, for a man to marry without being 'head over heels' in love, that is to say, until he falls victim to a fascination that is purely sensual, the work of the woman, and which overwhelms or absorbs all his other energies, provoking a love that will end in satiety.

Ferrero says:

'Love in the man of the South is above all admiration for a woman's physical beauty, and the desire to enjoy it.

Both of these feelings have their origin in physical need, but the love of the Southern man is closer to the organic function than the love of the Englishman."

That is, closer to the purely animal or instinctive function; that of the German is more 'idealised', as the author himself says, which for biologists means that the man of the South lags behind the man of the North in his cerebral evolution, since the march of sensory progress goes from reflex action to instinct and to the idea. Conscious cerebral activities increasingly replace unconscious instinctive ones, subjecting them to their control and imprinting upon them the distinctive mark of the brain's higher functions.

The 'bards', those who never even utter the word 'son', who crystallise and summarise all their aspirations in the possession of the 'beloved', are thus matriarchal of the worst kind.

7. Less than a month ago, the head of the Republic's postal service notified the public via the newspapers that post offices would not process postcards bearing indecent images. And that shameful notice must have been posted on the door of every post office. None of those postcards come from German-speaking countries, absolutely none.

8. Regressive selection due to the lack of criminal sanctions. Whom and how wealth corrupts.

Only those races in which the sense of equality before the law has been very strong have managed to put that sentiment into practice. And it is this very practice that is one of the most effective factors in their own progress, because it has made it possible for the selection process—which entails the elimination or exclusion of those unfit for the social order—to extend to the rich and powerful, that is, to the families of that very race who, by virtue of the superior qualities of their spirit, have risen above the rest and direct their destinies.

One of the causes of the moral degeneration of the ruling classes has been, everywhere, the impunity that their position or wealth has afforded to corrupt or criminal aristocrats, an impunity that has allowed them to freely multiply their unhealthy lineage. This lack of selection in the upper strata of a race renders futile the efforts and sacrifices—inherent in any selective process—endured by that race in the production of superior men, of eugenic individuals, thereby exhausting its ethnic vitality to no avail.

When the ignorant peasant wishes to see the aristocratic criminal who deserves it shot, he is not moved by any spirit of cruelty or vengeance, nor by the reasoned sentiment of selection: he is moved solely by his instinct, inherited from the need for common submission to the majesty of the law. It is the same innate sentiment that leads the enlightened commoner to regard as one of the most eloquent signs of England's political perfection the fact that a judge of that nation summons nobles and princes of royal blood to appear before him and measures them by the same yardstick as the lowliest of his subjects.

The constant spectacle before the people's eyes of the violation of equality in the application of criminal law in Chile is what often leads them to petition for a pardon from the death penalty imposed on a criminal from their own ranks. That is the sole reason. That all should be punished with the same penalties. Either every criminal who deserves it should be shot, whatever their position, or none should be shot.

The application of the law in Chile has always been flexible, but over the last forty or fifty years the impunity of members of the upper class has been almost total. This evil, like all others, has worsened in recent years, a situation in which the distribution of the state's wealth among the country's ruling families, carried out under any pretext, has surely played a major part.

There are two main ways in which wealth acquired without personal effort leads men to corruption. In well-organised countries, wealth is not acquired by fair means, but by those possessing exceptional superior abilities; yet when wealth comes by other means into the hands of men who do not deserve it, the economic laws governing the accumulation and dispersion of capital sooner or later strip the unworthy of their ill-gotten riches. One of the most common ways in which this recovery takes place is through the use these men make of their money, for they squander it on ostentatious displays designed to conceal their lack of merit—or, in truth, their inferior ideals of life—indulging without restraint in the pleasures of the senses. In pursuit of pleasure, man soon reaches the point where he sacrifices his dignity as a man, presenting the picture of moral misery I have sketched out earlier.

The other path is that of the lack of 'criminal selection', as Lapouge calls it. Its immediate effects are to keep powerful scoundrels at liberty and to undermine the public's respect for the law; its long-term effects are to bequeath to future generations the present of which Spencer speaks—a legacy of hereditary criminals and cretins in body and soul, the legitimate offspring of drunkenness, debauchery or syphilis.

The pernicious effects of wealth are felt with all their disastrous intensity in countries where the sense of justice is diminished, in those where that sentiment—the highest of all social sentiments—is replaced by charity, or, which amounts to the same thing, in those where the feminine criterion of distributing social benefits takes precedence over the masculine one. And so G. Le Bon has been able to say of such peoples:

'When people seek to make their fortune at any cost and their abilities do not allow them to satisfy that desire, they spare no means, honesty is compromised and demoralisation

. This is what has happened in most Latin countries. In them, one can make, with ever greater justification, this disturbing observation: that the morality of the ruling classes is usually far below that of the working classes.”

I have underlined the last sentence.

To the long-standing impunity for violent crimes among our ruling class has recently been added that for crimes against property, especially those committed against the nation's property. To the extensive list of such crimes in Spain, committed by members of wealthy families, we must add the blackmail of which the Santiago press reported several cases some fifteen days ago. But a particular type of crime against property has recently emerged, which must be noted due to its alarming gravity.

It is the formation of joint-stock companies for illicit purposes. Public opinion refers to these gangs by the name of 'syndicates'. Their shares are numerous and distributed amongst many in order to entice as many people as possible with the prospect of profit and to ensure their silence. The money contributed is used to secure the complicity of public officials or to 'gain influence', as the partners put it.

There are several of these strange companies; everyone talks about them, everyone knows their organisers, everyone knows the goldmine that will be exploited and the millions in prospects; but all comments are made in hushed tones, in half-words, because many are involved and the principal shareholders are powerful.

Some of these syndicates have run aground due to court rulings, so to date the first step taken by their managers is to turn the intended objective into an 'administrative' business.

These judicial failures and this determination to evade the courts will prove to those who have no further information that these criminal associations are also a recent phenomenon in our country: the ministers of the Cortes, though many of them are young men, belong to the previous generation.

Another tactic employed by the 'thieves in frock coats', as the press calls them, to evade legal action, is to appoint from among themselves an 'investigative commission'—an appendage of the Judiciary not provided for by the Constitution—to investigate the crime. And, as the times have demanded, several such commissions have been appointed, which to this day are still conducting their inquiries.

These procedures have caused a certain strain in relations between the Judiciary and the other branches of the State, creating a situation fraught with danger, and which has already given rise to a serious incident: it will be about a month since the head of the Republic's Judiciary,

a man of unblemished integrity who enjoys the absolute trust of his fellow citizens, had to withdraw from La Moneda, where he had been invited, to thwart a premeditated attempt to snub his high office.

9. Discrediting of our ruling class abroad.

Many powerful men have set about the task of discrediting the Chilean people. Their work has been carried out with method and perseverance. I am only today beginning to lay charges and lift a corner of the cloak with which their detractors cover themselves, but despite this enormous imbalance in the power of the lawyers in this dispute, I am deeply convinced that I will win the case, because my cause is just and because I will appeal to a court that they will not be able to evade with investigative commissions.

I know the countries that have loved us and the men of those countries who must hear my plea. Their final judgement will prove me right. With costs and damages.

I must see what they will say of the example of honesty our rulers are setting for us, the men of that great country who, to the cry of 'justice!', rose up one day in anger against their princes who violated morality and desecrated the temple of the law; from that great country where the descendants of those very same misguided rulers have just immortalised the puritanous regicide in bronze.

Neither in Europe nor in any civilised country do they believe that an entire people can be corrupted overnight, a people who, from the moment they came into being, have shown—not with words but in the incorruptible crucible of the battlefield—that they possess the cardinal virtue of courage in the highest degree.

In Europe they know what is happening here better than we do ourselves. In 1900, in the editorial office of one of London's leading newspapers, one of its editors, after speaking in glowing terms of the people of Chile—as if to sugar-coat a bitter pill—cited specific facts and proper names from my distant homeland that left me speechless with shame. In London, Liverpool, Hamburg and all the major commercial centres that have dealings with our country, there are certain accounts and receipts signed by Chileans as proof of private expenses incurred by the agents in Chile of European trading houses—expenses that only in the very recent past have arisen from their commercial relations with this nation.

Are our rulers unaware of these facts? Anyone might believe so, that they have neither news nor suspicion of such a thing, for they appear very surprised at the disrepute into which Chile's name is falling abroad, and to counteract this they invest around one hundred thousand pesos from the public treasury each year in maintaining nephews and godchildren in Europe who write laudatory articles in the newspapers about Chile and its rulers.

Only those nations that have an interest in our virtuous leaders bestowing upon them our sacred territorial heritage—so that they may settle the matriarchal rabble of their own countries there—will feign belief in the moral degeneration of the Chilean people and the virtue of its ruling classes, phenomena contrary to the findings of the French scholar Le Bon.

Together have come to our homeland the decline of the idea of justice, the fall in moral standards, the weakening of character, administrative disorganisation, and the very recent preference for the Latin countries of the Old World.

It has not been we Chileans but observant travellers who have always found a very visible resemblance between us and some of the nations of Germanic origin in Europe.

'The English of the Pacific', 'the Prussians of the Pacific' are names that have been bestowed upon us time and again. On the other hand, the Chilean people have made no secret of their preference for the nations of the north of that continent. They sent their young people there to be educated, and brought their teachers from there; their customs and institutions always serve as a model for us. A special condition was always imposed on the colonisation agents that the families they brought into the country should be from those very nations.

It was only in the Colson colonisation contract that a concession was first made to allow some French families from the north of that country to be added to the German families, and that concession was not without protest. Now only the Latin peoples serve as our models, and it is with them and with Africans that we are populating our very scarce vacant land, and even that inhabited by Chileans. It is not difficult to explain the concomitance of these events. I merely wish to put on record that it is not the Chilean people who have changed their thinking or their sympathies, and that the radical change wrought in our rulers cannot be imposed upon us without serious resistance and without grave harm, if indeed they ever succeed, which I do not believe.

An anecdote regarding this shift in sympathies at La Moneda: The doyen of one of Santiago's German communities, a businessman who has lived in our country for nearly half a century and has made his home here, taking pride in the fact that his children are Chilean, could not hold back his tears the first time that La Moneda staff demanded a bribe from him to process a request with the Government; weeping, he went down the stairs and weeping, he went out onto the street, where the troubled and noble old man, who has told me this story, found him. In contrast, the first major offender of the latest law on alcohol production, a Latin American who has gone unpunished, walks up and down the palace staircase humming 'La donna e mobile'; all doors open in his path and he encounters only smiling, welcoming faces. This is a single case, but it is indicative of a pattern, and it is thought-provoking. The first incident took place in 1892, and the second in the early months of this year.

10. Measures to combat crime. Give us schools!

To conclude this letter on crime, I shall add a few lines to what has been said about how to combat it.

An effective means has already been noted: elimination and confinement.

Penal colonies have been a failure everywhere, with the exception of the Russian ones in Siberia. This exception can be explained by the fact that the convicts who make up these colonies are political prisoners, and because they are constantly within range of their guards' rifles. Those exiled for common crimes enjoy no freedom in Siberia except during working hours, on the railways, roads, canals, in towns, etc., which that government builds with their labour for its law-abiding subjects; at night they return to their cells.

Portales Procedure.

I have deemed it necessary to recall the complete lack of success of all the colonies formed with criminals, because I am aware of a plan by our government to establish one of these colonies on one of the most beautiful southern islands. Only married criminals would be sent to that island, or they would be forced to choose wives from the reformatories for female criminals, if unmarried rogues were needed to populate the colony. A breeding ground for criminals on both sides of the equator.

I need not remind you how the Magallanes penal colony ended. On two occasions a penal colony has been established on Juan Fernández, and on both occasions the settlers have made their way to the mainland in boats and rafts.

One of the official synopses states that penal colonisation yielded very good results in Australia. That assertion is false.

It was a complete failure.

The main reason for this project is a preliminary budget of \$400,000 to prepare the island that will receive these settlers.

I also believe it necessary to dispel the illusion, very common in Latin American countries, regarding the effectiveness of education in combating crime. That misconception has the serious drawback of leaving a problem unresolved—one that does exist and from which we must heal ourselves.

'Where a school is opened, a prison is closed' is one of those typical phrases so dear to those who believe in words. Not only our statistics but those from all over the world prove with figures that the opposite is in fact the case.

The bill on compulsory education has just failed in our Parliament; it would have brought the great benefit of increasing the number of schools, and it failed because its proponents relied primarily on the much-vaunted virtue of education in combating crime. It was all too easy for the bill's opponents to demonstrate, using

figures taken from statistics from all countries that crime increases with the spread of education.

The aforementioned Statistical Survey that highlighted the rise in our crime rate—the same one covering the six-year period—noting the proportionally lower crime rate among the illiterate in Chile and recalling the same phenomenon everywhere, states on page XI:

‘It would seem, then, that education constitutes, in man, an auxiliary force in the perpetration of crimes’.

Some data on this subject. School education has kept us, from 1895 to the present day, at the shameful figure of 72% illiteracy, second only to the 82% illiteracy rate recorded in southern Italy. Well then, in 1895, 56.9% of convicts were illiterate, and in 1900 the figure was only 50.2%. These figures demonstrate a significant decrease, of nearly 12%, in crime among the poor and illiterate, and a corresponding increase in crime among the literate, given that the overall proportion of prisoners has fallen only slightly during that period, as we have seen.

Convinced as our leaders must have been by the debate on this matter in the Houses that crime increases with education, and in view of the fact—unique in history—that the rulers of this unfortunate country fear the ruled, I am seized by the fear that they may begin to close schools. We are witnessing stranger things. The point must therefore be clarified.

Making a man moral and intelligent is far more difficult than teaching him to read, write and count. Those qualities are the fruit of millennia of selection; education does not alter the structure of the brain, but it is a powerful means—the most powerful of all those invented by man—of exercising to good effect, of employing for a given purpose, to a greater extent and with greater intensity, the natural, inherited qualities, both good and bad; it expands the scope of human activity and the real and useful value of man in society, and for these reasons it is the most powerful lever of progress.

If only the increase in criminal activity is evident in the statistics, it is for the simple reason that only criminal acts are recorded in them. The heightened activity that enlightenment provides to the good, and therefore the increase in beneficial actions, is not recorded in any statistics, but that does not make it any less effective, nor does it escape the notice of those who know how to see it. If there were a need to open new prisons because, as schools multiply, scoundrels would take advantage of their education to increase the number of their crimes, then so be it! We must not abolish the railways because villains use them to flee from the courts.

The school is a factory of social vitality, and education a weapon so powerful in the struggle for life that we must spare no effort until we ensure that

no Chilean is left at a disadvantage in the struggle for that reason. Let schools be increased, even if they are not compulsory, nor secular, nor convent-run; let them be like the ones we have. Every peasant knows the benefits of education; if many remain ignorant, it is not because they have been forced to do so, but because they have had no school within four leagues' radius to attend or send their children to. To subordinate the education of the people to narrow, militant political factions is to demonstrate an inability to govern them.

Our government proposes many means to combat and even nip in the bud the criminality of the Chilean peasant, the poor and ignorant peasant, which is the only form of criminality it believes in; but in none of them does the statesman appear, nor even the scholar who is up to date with current knowledge on these matters.

As an example of the measures advocated for this purpose, I shall recall that the government believes in the great power of music to turn a criminal into an honest man. It elaborates at length on the subject and quotes authors. It seems to know that some snake hunters lull them to sleep by playing the flute. At least that is what can be inferred from the passage I have copied below, written in the poetic style befitting the subject. It reads:

'Music is the language of the soul, capable of translating its most intimate impressions; it has the power to soothe the feeble-minded and the insane. The harmony of sounds gives rise in the simplest of minds to emotions that are at once subtle and complex, which dispel evil instincts and calm restless desires'

(Criminal Statistics, 1901, p. VII)

So the phrase 'it has the power to soothe idiots' fits the bill perfectly.

In Italy, many publicists and even congresses of criminologists have recommended honest diversions and entertainment for criminals as suitable means of reforming them, and it is possible that our Statistics has copied the recipe for the 'language of the soul' from them. But in Italy itself, knowledgeable men have protested vehemently against such illusions. Ferri concludes the chapter of his Criminal Anthropology dealing with this subject with the following observation:

'A word of advice on this point: let not these doctrines reach the workers or peasants who live in the most wretched poverty, whilst remaining honest, and for whom no charitable society provides Sunday lectures, drawing or music'...

In conclusion, I can state that general crime has not increased in Chile since 1895, the year from which statistical data are available; that crime among the Chilean people has decreased significantly, offsetting the increase observed among the upper classes and among contracted immigrants.

The ignorance and the childish, effeminate judgement evident in the compilation of our country's crime statistics might be forgiven by the people, for the common folk are known to be very forgiving; but the false accusations intended to discredit them and the spirit of malice against them revealed by these statistics must awaken in them the duty to defend their honour and to remain vigilant.

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